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## I.—THE THIRD CLASS OF WEAK VERBS IN PRIMITIVE TEUTONIC, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS DEVELOPMENT IN ANGLO-SAXON.

From the time of Grimm until the present day, scholars have been seeking for an explanation of the origin and structure of the Teutonic third weak conjugation. To account for the diphthong of the stem alone forms one of the most perplexing problems of Teutonic grammar. The Latin conjugation in *-ē-* is so closely allied to the Teutonic *ai*-conjugation as to suggest at once identity of origin; still, the Teutonic diphthong cannot be the direct equivalent of the Latin vowel. It seems, moreover, doubtful whether *ai* held in the Primitive Teutonic third class the position of *ō* in the second, of *j* in the first weak conjugation. In Anglo-Saxon, in Old Saxon, and in Old Norse *ai* does not appear in the preterit, while in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Saxon, *ai* in the present indicative is confined to the second and third persons singular and the second person plural. The condition of the inflection, too, is no less perplexing than that of the stem-vowel. Gothic shows in the present an interchange of strong forms with forms in *ai*; the Saxon dialects have a corresponding interchange of *j*- with *ai*-forms. What is the significance for Primitive Teutonic of this mixture of forms, and which, Gothic or Anglo-Saxon, is nearer the primitive condition?

In Bopp's Comparative Grammar (I<sup>1</sup> 226) is found the first attempt to explain the origin of the *ai*-verb; for Grimm, in his discussion of the Gothic *ai*-class, had done little more than state

the difficulties to be met.<sup>1</sup> Bopp held that the Teutonic *ai*-class is the same as the Latin class in *ē*, and that both were developed, as were also the Teutonic *ō*- and *j*-conjugations, from the Sanskrit derivative class in *-aja-*. He saw in the Latin *ē* a contraction of *a* and *i*, the Old High German *ē* being the result of a corresponding, but independent, Teutonic contraction. With regard to the inflection, Bopp considered the irregularities of the Gothic and Saxon a result of dialectic development.

The theory that the Teutonic weak conjugations find their explanation in the Sanskrit tenth class was accepted also by Scherer, as it was by other scholars for many years after the time of Bopp. But Scherer<sup>2</sup> was led by certain other facts to consider the *ai*-conjugation a mixture of three original types, viz. a) two strong verbs in *-mi* (one reduplicating); b) a derivative verb in *-aja-*. These facts were: the relation of Gothic *pulan* to Greek *πλῆναι*; that of Gothic *munan* to Greek *μνῆσκειν*; and that of Gothic *bauan* to Sanskrit *ba-bhū-va*, *bhā-vā-mi*.

In 1879, a year after the appearance of the second edition of Scherer's *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, Mahlow's treatise, *Die langen Vocale ā, ē, ō in den europäischen Sprachen*, was published. In spite of the many arbitrary and misleading explanations offered in it, the essay is of interest and importance, and marks a turning-point in the discussion of the Teutonic third weak class. Mahlow starts with the assumption that there existed originally, in all the European languages, two classes of weak verbal stems in *-ej-*—the one a class of causatives in *-ējō-*, the other a class of denominatives in *-ējō-*. In South European the two classes fell together, but in the Teutonic dialects they persisted as the *j*-class and the *ē*-class. But it is evident that the Gothic *ai* cannot be the direct equivalent of Latin *ē*, and it is at the same time improbable that Old High German *ē* represents the primitive condition. This consideration leads to Mahlow's second assumption, viz. that Gothic *ē*, Old High German *ā*, should

<sup>1</sup> Deutsche Gram. I<sup>2</sup> §50: "Der ableitungsvocal lautet *ai*, erfährt aber ein von dem *ō* zweiter conjugation verschiedenes schicksal, nämlich: a) vor consonantisch anhebender flexion bleibt er, gleich jenem *ō*, unbeeinträchtigt; b) hebt die flexion mit *i* an, so verschlingt er dieses: also *habais*, *habaip* stehen für *habai-is*, *habai-ip*; γ) hebt aber die flexion mit *a*, *au*, oder selbst mit *ai* an, so wird das ableitende *ai* ausgeworfen, mithin stehen *haban*, *haba*, *habam*, *habau*, *habai* für *habaja*, *habajam*, *habajan*, *habajau*, *habajai*."

<sup>2</sup> ZGDS.<sup>2</sup> 265 sq.



be represented by a sign *a\**, which, before *j* and vowels, was in Primitive Teutonic developed into *ai*.<sup>1</sup>

This *-ai-*, developed from *-a\*j-*, held in the Primitive Teutonic conjugation the same place as that held by the *-j-* of class I, by the *-ð-* of class II. The Gothic strong forms in the present indicative were derived from the optative, where they were first developed by contraction in the first and second persons.<sup>2</sup> The original condition of the verb is not to be looked for in Gothic, nor in Old High German, but in Anglo- and Old Saxon. *\*haba'ja* became in West Germanic *\*habeju*, by loss of inlaut *-e-* *\*habju*, finally *\*hebbju*. So the West Germanic inflection was developed from the original inflection in the following way:

Ind.: Prim. Teut.	<i>*habaia</i>	<i>*habaiz</i>	<i>*habaið</i>	<i>*habaið</i>
Prim. WG.	<i>*habeju</i>	<i>*habas</i>	<i>*habað</i>	<i>*habað</i>
O. Sax.	<i>hebbju</i>	<i>habas</i>	<i>habað</i>	<i>hebbiað</i>
Opt.: Prim. Teut.	<i>*habaiau</i>	<i>*habaiaiz</i>	<i>*habaiai</i>	
Prim. WG.	<i>*habeja</i>	<i>*habejas</i>	<i>*habeja</i>	
O. Sax.	<i>hebbia</i>	<i>hebbias</i>	etc.	

Part. pres.: Prim. Teut. *\*habaianð*; WG. *\*habejand*; O. Sax. *hebbiand*.

<sup>1</sup> Of this vowel Mahlow says (p. 26): "Es ist sehr verlockend, das gotische *e* dem *ē* der anderen europäischen sprachen vollständig gleich zu stellen, um so mehr als auch die sächsischen dialekte einen *ē*-laut *ā* für das gotische *ē* haben, und ein *ē* auch den älteren hochdeutschen dialekten nicht fremd war, vgl. Scherer' ZGDS. 126. Indessen wird sich unten zeigen, dass das germanische *ē*, *d* noch einem ganz anderen laut entspricht, und schon dies würde die gleichsetzung des gotischen *e* mit dem europäischen *ē* bedenklich machen. Es giebt ferner noch andere gründe, die uns verhindern, als urgermanische gestalt des vocals *ē* anzusetzen: es muss ein langer vocal gewesen sein, der dem kurzen *a* näher stand als dem *ē*. Dies ist zu schliessen aus der entstehung von *ai*, die eben besprochen ist, der kürzung zu *a* in *fadar*, *dauhtar*, der contraction in got. *frēt*, *frētun*, die aus *\*fra ēt*, *\*fra ētun* nicht entstanden wären. Ich setze daher als urgermanischen vertreter des europäischen *ē* ein helles *d* an, das oben mit *a\** bezeichnet wurde: dies *a\** wurde in allen germanischen dialekten zu *æ*, dann theils zu *ē*, theils wieder zu *d*." The argument is far from convincing. *Fadar* and *dauhtar* are probably formed like agent nouns in *-or*; like *bhrātor*, not like *πατήρ*. That *frēt* has arisen from *fra ēt* by a simple and not uncommon process of elision is proved by numerous examples in Gothic and in OHG. E. g. Goth. *karist* = *kar(a)ist*, *pammuh* = *pamm(a)uh*, OHG. *galliro* = *ge-altiro*, *nein* = *ni-ein*, etc. Brugmann, Gram. der indog. Spr. I 461.

<sup>2</sup> Prim. Teut. *\*haba'au* *\*haba'aiz* *\*haba'ai*, etc.  
" *\*habaiau* *\*hab(ai)aiz* *\*hab(ai'ai)*, etc.

The two main points which the theory of Mahlow seeks to establish, viz. the identity of Latin *-ē-* and Gothic *-ai-* and the direct development of the Saxon forms from the Prim. Teut., form as well the basis of Kögel's treatment of the subject. Kögel (PBB. IX 504 sq.) follows Mahlow very closely; in fact, he does little more than bring together fresh material in support of the latter's view. There are, indeed, slight differences in detail. E. g., with regard to the preterit structure, Kögel maintains that the contracted form of the Norse and Saxon is a remnant of the primitive condition, that Gothic *habaida*, OHG. *habêta* are late formations.

Bremer (PBB. XI 46 sq.), in an essay on the Teutonic *ē*, accepts Mahlow's opinion that the *ai* of *haban* is the equivalent of Indo-European *ē.i*, but rejects Mahlow's theory with regard to the development of the Teut. diphthong. Mahlow's argument is based upon the treatment of *ai* in *saian* and *waian*.<sup>1</sup> But, Bremer maintains, the *ai* in *saian* is quite different in nature and origin from the *ai* of *haban*. *Saian* points to no such form as *\*sa'jan*, from *\*sējan*, but to *\*sēan*, and Goth. *ai* is here the representative of Greek *ai*, which was, at the time of Ulfilas, the writing for open *ē*. "Das germanische *ai* kann nur aus einem vorhistorischen *ē.i* erklärt werden. Es muss also die idg. 2, 3 sg. *\*k'ab'ē'si*, *\*k'ab'ēti*, 2 plu. *\*k'ab'ētō*, im germ. zunächst zu *\*χάβē.izi*, *\*χάβē.īdi* umgeschaffen worden sein. Diese neubildung war sehr natürlich, denn sonst hatten alle verben, primäre wie abgeleitete, die endungen *\*-izi*, *-īdi*."

For the change of *ē.i* to *ai*, Bremer seeks to establish a law that Indo-European *ē.i* was transformed into *ai* in Prim. Teut. in *unaccented* syllables.

The most important point in Bremer's essay is his discussion of the interchanging forms found in the present of the *ai*-verb. This interchange, Bremer holds, belonged to Prim. Teut., and is equivalent to the interchange of *ē* and *i* in the Latin second conjugation, e. g. *habēre*, *habitus*. In Lithuanian a like duality of stem is found. The argument for a double stem is this (p. 47): "Im germanischen entspricht *i* und *a.i* dem idg. *i* und *ē*. Fraglich ist in welcher weise sich die formen ursprünglich theilten. Hätte das *präsens* im idg., wie im lit.-slav., überall *i* gehabt, so ist nicht einzusehen, weshalb got. *haban* nicht wie *nasjan* flectierte."

<sup>1</sup> For literature on *saian*, *waian* see Leo Meyer, KZ. 8, 245 sq.; PBB. VII 152 sq., ibid. 469 sq., IX 509 sq., VIII 210 sq., XI 51 sq., XVII 14 sq.; Johansson, Verb. Contr. 179 sq.; Brugmann, I 128.

Thus Bremer's argument leads by a different way to the conclusion of Mahlow, that the Prim. Teut. inflection of the *ai*-verb is to be found in the Saxon dialects. The original inflection would appear thus:

Pres. ind. sg.: 1. \**χab<sub>1</sub>io*      2. \**χaba<sub>1</sub>izi*      3. \**χaba<sub>1</sub>iði*  
 pl.: 1. \**χab<sub>1</sub>iami*      2. \**χaba<sub>1</sub>iði*      3. \**χab<sub>1</sub>ianði*

Opt. pres.: \**χab<sub>1</sub>ia<sub>1</sub>i*, etc.

A new direction was given the discussion by Johansson.<sup>1</sup> He rejected at once the explanation of Mahlow and that of Bremer, and held that the peculiarities of the *ai*-inflection are to be explained as the result of a mixture of two original inflections. The two original conjugations were: 1. thematic: *a*) (= cl. I) *-ē, ið, ð*) (= cl. VI) *-ið*; 2. athematic: sg. \**khabha<sub>2</sub>-i-mi*, plu. \**khabh(ə)-i-ma<sub>2</sub>-s*. Of neither Old High German nor of Anglo-Saxon may it be said that the one is nearer than the other to the original condition. The former simply follows the athematic conjugation, while the latter shows a mixture of thematic and athematic forms. "Cogitari potest, dialectos omnino utramque flexionem retinuisse: quae deinde diversis causis flexioni thematicae faverent, formas quae jam essent, inter athematicas inseruisse: ac flexionis thematicae maxime sane erant propriae 1 sg. et 1, 3 plu." (p. 183).

Teutonic *ai* should be considered, according to Johansson, a development from Indo-European *ē*. "Germ. *ē* (got. *ē* sub acc. princ.) etiam sed modo tum literis *ai* descriptum esse, cum in got. quidem lingua non sub accentu principali staret" (p. 187).

Streitberg<sup>2</sup> and Bartholomae<sup>3</sup> agree with Johansson in presupposing for Prim. Teut. a double *ai*-conjugation. But both these scholars maintain that Teut. *ai* must have come, not from the athematic, but from the thematic, conjugation. The two original conjugations were, then, thematic in *-ē-jð*, non-thematic in *-ē-mi*. To explain the change of primitive *ē* to *ā*, Streitberg, like Bremer, attempts to establish a Teutonic law that "In nicht haupttoniger (flexions-)silbe ändert sich die qualität des *ē*, es wird gemein-

<sup>1</sup> De derivatis Verbis contractis Linguae Graecae (Upsalae, 1876), cap. V.

<sup>2</sup> Die germ. Comparative auf *-ōs-*. Freiburg, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Altindisch *āsis* > Lateinisch *erds*. Halle, 1891.

germanisch zu *ā*." Hence Goth. *haband* is the direct equivalent of prim. athematic *\*χαβē-ndi*, and *habais* of prim. thematic *\*χαβēiz*.<sup>1</sup>

Bartholomae's position is practically the same as that of Streitberg, but he differs from the latter in the method of developing thematic *\*habēizi* (Goth. *habais*). Streitberg introduces between *\*habēzi* and *\*habēizi* an intermediate form *\*habēi.izi*, the *ēi.i* of which "unter dem drucke der übrigen formen sehr früh einsilbig werden musste." As a simpler explanation Barth. (p. 147) proposes "dass man das gotische *habais* direkt auf ein ursprachliches *\*khəbhēizi*—so richtiger als *\*khabh\**—bezieht, d. i. ein aorist-praesens aus dem verbal-stamm *\*khəbhēi*, welches sich zu dem durch lat. *habēs* vertretenen aoristpraesens *\*khəbhēizi* nicht anders verhält als lit. *buvai* zu *buvo*." Streitberg and Bartholomae agree in considering *ē* of the Old High German conjugation the direct equivalent, not of Gothic *ai*, but of Latin, and hence of Indo-European *ē*. As Johansson makes OHG. *habēm*, *habēs*, *habēt* equivalent to Prim. Teut. *\*khabhaimi*, *\*khabhaisi*, *\*khabhaiði*, so Streitberg makes the same forms equivalent to Prim. Aryan *\*khabhēmi*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

All the scholars who have as yet been mentioned have agreed in identifying the Teutonic *ai*-class with the Latin class in *ē*. A position quite different from that of Mahlow, Kögel, Bremer, was taken by Möller<sup>3</sup> and supported by Sievers.<sup>4</sup> They identify the *ai*-verb with the Greek verb in *-άω-*, Prim. Teut. *-ōjō-*. The original paradigm, then, would run: *\*habōjizi*, *\*habōjiði*, etc. By contraction *-ōji-* became *-ōi-*, and was then regularly developed into *ai*. According to Möller's law of syncope, viz. that

<sup>1</sup> Streitberg's just criticism of Mahlow's view with regard to the contraction of *ēi* to *ē* (Die germ. Comp., 6 sq.) is quite as applicable to S.'s own argument: "Wer sie dennoch dazu verwenden wollte, setzt sich dem vorwurf eines zirkelschlusses aus, indem sein ganzer beweis in der behauptung besteht: 'die erklärung der verba auf *-ai-* verlangt, dass *ēi* zu *ai*, *ē* zu *ā*, in nichthaupttoniger silbe wird,' und '*ēi* wird zu *ai*, *ē* zu *ā*, in nichthaupttoniger silbe, weil es die erklärung der verba auf *ai* verlangt.'" Outside the condition of the *ai*-verb itself, the only evidence to be adduced in support of this Teutonic law is found in *fadar* = *\*patēr* and *anstai* = *\*anstēi*. But *fadar* has without doubt the ending of the agent nouns, while *anstai* is possibly developed, not from *\*anstēi*, but from *\*anstōi*. See Urspr. auslaut. *ai*, Bezz. Beitr. XVII, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> The change of *ēi* to *ai*, of *ē* to *ā*, is, according to Streitberg and Bartholomae, a common Teutonic law; still, this common law is inactive in one of the dialects, Old High German. It is hardly evident why one dialect should be exempt from a primitive law.

<sup>3</sup> PBB. VII 472 sq.

<sup>4</sup> PBB. VIII 90-92.

after a short syllable Prim. Teut.  $\delta$  and  $\tilde{a}$  were lost,<sup>1</sup> there arose the forms \**habjō*, \**habaizi*, \**habaiði*, etc.

There remains for consideration the recently published theory of Prof. Herman Collitz with regard to the origin of the *ai*-class.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Collitz's essay on the auslaut *ai* in Gothic, Old High German, and Old Saxon has not received as yet wide recognition among scholars, but its importance must be eventually acknowledged. Prof. Collitz has succeeded in placing in a new light the whole question of the nature and origin of the *ai*-conjugation, and proposes a solution of the problem radically different from any that has yet been offered. To begin with the relation between Teutonic *ai*- and Latin *-ē*-: "Ich weiche," says Prof. Collitz, "von allen neueren untersuchungen darin ab, dass ich einen unmittelbaren zusammenhang dieser beiden flexionsklassen nicht annehme. Von der bisherigen ansicht sich frei zu machen wird manchem zunächst schwer fallen. Man hat sich gewöhnt vergleichungen wie *haban habēre*, *silan silēre*, *ṗahan tacēre*, *witan vidēre*, als vollgültigen beweis für die ursprüngliche identität der beiden verbalklassen anzusehen. Aber den lat. verben auf *-ēre* entsprechen im Germanischen auch starke verba; *aukan augēre*, *silan sidēre*, *ga-ṗairsan torrēre*, *wakan vegēre*, u. a. Dass mehrere germanische *ai*-verba zusammentreffen, erklärt sich zur genüge daraus, dass jene im Germanischen, diese im Lateinischen, die eigentlich intransitiv- und durativ-klassen bilden. Diese ihre gemeinsame function beruht nicht auf einem directen, sondern auf einem indirecten genetischen zusammenhange. Die lateinischen *-ē*-verba berühren sich nach form und bedeutung mit dem griechischen starken passivaoriste. Nimmt man nun mit Johansson (KZ. 30, 553, anm.) an, dass der griech.  $\eta$ -aorist des passivs auf einer verallgemeinerung des  $\epsilon$  beruht, welches in der arischen ursprache auf den auslaut des themas vor gewissen personalendungen beschränkt war, so ist die folgerung unabweislich, dass auch die lateinischen *-ē*-verba (und ebenso die entsprechenden bildungen im Griechischen und Letto-slavischen) aus einer eigenheit der arischen medialflexion erwachsen sind. Die lateinische

<sup>1</sup> Johansson, *De deriv. Verb. contr.* 182, 183; justly opposes Möller's theory of the Teut. syncope, for, he says, "nulla est causa, cur syncopam eiusmodi generis tempore linguae germ. communis probemus, praesertim cum vocales ipsae accentum  $\epsilon$ - $i$  prae se ferant, qui non subito mutatum sit." Hence Johansson proposes, not \**khabhajō*, but \**khabhiō*, for the primitive form.

<sup>2</sup> *Beitr. zur Kunde der indogerm. Spr.* XVII, p. 1 sqq.



*ē*-conjugation hängt dann mit der german. *ai*-conjugation ebenso nahe zusammen, ohne jedoch mit ihr identisch zu sein, wie in dem formensystem der ursprache die verbalen *ē*-stämme mit den verbalen *ai*-stämmen: das band, welches beide ursprünglich verknüpfte, ist die arische flexion des mediums."

Prof. Collitz lays special stress upon the medial character of the conjugation, holding that in that fact is found the key to the whole problem. He points out that, of the thirty or forty verbs that may be ascribed to Prim. Teut., no more than four or five are derivatives, and these may be proved to be of late development. The *ai*-conjugation should not be treated as a weak conjugation, but as an old middle, which is connected with the weak conjugation only by the fact of their common adoption of an originally medial preterit. The present of the *ai*-verb has active endings, just as the original medial plural endings of the weak pret. were replaced by those of the active. "Wir dürfen aber erwarten, spuren des urspr. mediums noch in den besonderheiten zu finden, welche die praesensflexion der *ai*-verba charakterisieren. Hält man nun zusammen, dass das *ai*- im Urgermanischen sich auf die 2. und 3. person des praesens beschränkte, und dass in der arischen ursprache die 2. und 3. person des duals im praesens medii der 'thematischen conjugation' vor dem dental der endung (nach ausweis der ind. 2. du. *-e-the*, 3. du. *-e-ti* = av. *-ōi-pē*) den ausgang *-oi-* hatten, so liegt der schluss nahe, dass das germanische *-ai-* nicht anders als die fortsetzung des thematischen *-oi-* der 2. und 3. person des duals ist."

It is evident from the preceding historical review of the subject that the discussion from Bopp to Bartholomae has been guided by two assumptions, viz. (1) that the Latin *ē*-verb is the same as the Teutonic *ai*-verb; (2) that the *-j-* of the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon is to be ascribed to Prim. Teut. The attempt to account for a *-j-* in the primitive conjugation led to Mahlow's complicated and arbitrary theory; it gave rise to the still more arbitrary, if more logical, view of Bremer. To the same attempt is due the supposition of Johansson, Streitberg, and Bartholomae, that the *ai*-verb resulted from a mixture of two original conjugations. Prof. Collitz alone proposes a solution of the problem which is based upon the Gothic as representative of the original inflection. On this point he says: "Man sieht nicht recht, weshalb z. b. urgerm. *\*habjan* (inf.) und *\*habjō* (1. sing.) im Gotischen sollte durch *haban haba* ersetzt sein. Es ist jedenfalls ebensowohl

möglich von urgerm. \**haban* \**habô* auszugehen und die nordwestgerm. \**habjan* \**habjô* als neuerungen zu fassen."<sup>1</sup>

The object of the present paper is not to enter into the discussion concerning the origin of the *ai*-conjugation, but to give an historical treatment of the *ai*-class and its development. There is much needed at this point, it seems to me, a careful consideration of the conjugation from the Teutonic standpoint. Hitherto, although the *ai*-problem has received its share of attention, no independent study of the verb has appeared. All the various theories referred to above have found expression either incidentally in the consideration of another subject, or in studies of a single aspect of the question. In every case, too, the primary object of study has been to ascertain the origin of the conjugation.

It is my purpose, therefore, to confine my attention to the third weak class as it exists in Teutonic, hoping by that means to reconstruct the Primitive Teutonic *ai*-class and the Primitive Teutonic *ai*-inflection. The reconstruction of the *ai*-class will involve (a) a collection of all the *ai*-verbs that may be ascribed to Primitive Teutonic, (b) a study of the dialectic development of the class.

## PART I.

### A.—The Primitive Teutonic *ai*-verbs.

Two difficulties stand in the way of determining with certainty which of the *ai*-verbs may be ascribed to Primitive Teutonic. The first of these difficulties arises from the fact that the distinction between the three weak classes is in none of the dialects kept with absolute integrity. Even Gothic, which preserves the purity of its forms with much greater consistency than do any of the other dialects, shows beside *hausjan hausjôn*, beside *beistjan beistjôn*; and in the *ai*-class *hatjan* appears beside *hatan*, with no apparent distinction of use or of meaning. In the other dialects, so uncertain are the lines of demarcation between the classes that, without the most cautious comparative study, it is impossible to determine the original condition of any given verb. When we find, for example, in Old High German *sagjan*, *sagên*; *frâgên*, *frâgôn*, what shall be said about the relative antiquity of the forms? In general it may be assumed that, where we find in Old High

<sup>1</sup> Die Behandl. des urspr. auslaut. -*ai*, 43, note.

German variants in *-ē-* and *-ō-*, or in *-ē-*, *-ō-* and *-j-*, the *-ē-* form is probably the oldest. But this assumption can become a certainty only in case the verb exists in Gothic in the *ai*-inflection, or is an underived verb. That in the case of derivative verbs, where variants are found, the *ē*-form is not necessarily primitive might be evidenced by numerous examples. The following instances are the result of a study of the *ō*-conjugation in OHG. and Gothic:

Gothic *karôn*; OHG. *charôn*, *charên* (AgS. *cearian*, *-ode*; OS. *karon*).

Gothic *lapôn*; OHG. *ladôn*, *ladên* (AgS. *laðian*, *-ode*; OS. *laðoian*).

Gothic *smiþôn*; OHG. *smidôn*, *smidên* (AgS. *smiðian*, *-ode*).

Gothic *tilôn*; OHG. *zilôn*, *zilên* (AgS. *tilian*, *-ode*; OS. *tilon*).

Here, without doubt, the *ē*-forms are comparatively late, of purely OHG. development.

In doubtful cases AgS. and OSax. are of no practical assistance; for in those dialects the *ai*-conjugation has no longer an independent existence, the original *ai*-verbs still existing there have passed into the *ō*-class. Norse, too, is unreliable, for although it has kept the *ai*-conjugation, the class is a very small one of mixed character; and, moreover, many of the verbs which belonged without doubt to the Prim. Teut. *ai*-class appear in Norse among the verbs of *ō*-inflection or of the *-j-*.

Another difficulty in deciding which were the Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs lies in the fact that the classes by which the *ai*-conjugation is represented in OHG., AgS. and OSax. are in those dialects the main classes of new formation. Consequently there will be found many denominatives common to the three dialects, having the treatment of *ai*-verbs, and still of late origin. Furthermore, verbs that belonged in Prim. Teut. to other classes may in the dialects be treated as verbs of the *ai*-class. Since in OHG. the third class received special stress as a class of new formation, it is not unnatural that verbs originally of other classes should be drawn into the prevailing class. The same may be said of the second class in AgS. and in OSax.

The following verbs may be ascribed, without hesitation, to Prim. Teut.:

1. Goth. *aistan*; ON. *æsta* (pret. *æsta*).
2. Goth. *arman*; OHG. *armên*; OS. *armon*; AgS. *earmian*.

3. OHG. *bibēn*<sup>1</sup>; AgS. *bifian*, *beofian*; OS. *bibon*; ON. *bifask*.<sup>2</sup>
4. Goth. *fi(j)an*; OHG. *fiēn*; AgS. *fēon*, *fēogean*; ON. *fjá*.
5. OHG. *folgēn*<sup>3</sup>; AgS. *folgian*, *folgode*<sup>4</sup>; OS. *folgon*.
6. OHG. *frāgēn*<sup>5</sup>; OS. *frāgon*.
7. OHG. *fullēn*; OS. *fullon*; AgS. *fullian*; ON. *fulla* (-*aði*).
8. OHG. *giēn*, *ginēn*<sup>6</sup>; AgS. *ginian*, *geonian*; ON. *gina* (*ginði*). Perhaps late formation and not connected with OHG. *giēn*.
9. Goth. *haban*; OHG. *habēn*; OS. *hebbian*; AgS. *habban*; ON. *kafa*.
10. Goth. *hāhan*; OHG. *hangēn*; OS. *hangon*; AgS. *hangian*; ON. *hanga* (only in pret. *hangði* and in present).
11. Goth. *hatan*; OHG. *hazzēn* (rarely *hazzōn*); AgS. *hatian*; OS. *haton*; ON. *hata* (-*aði*).
12. OHG. *hlinēn*<sup>7</sup>; OS. *hlinon*; AgS. *hlinian*, *hleonian*.
13. OHG. *hogēn*<sup>8</sup>; OS. *huggian*; AgS. *hygc(e)an* (late *hogian*).
14. OHG. *klebēn*; AgS. *clifian*, *cleofian*; OS. *clibon*; ON. *klifa* (-*aði*).

<sup>1</sup> Once a form in -*ō* is found; pret. *ir-bibōten*, Graff, III 22.

<sup>2</sup> In the oldest Norse writers *bifa* is found as a deponent verb. Later the pret. *bifaði* appears in place of the older *bifði*; and with the change in pret. the verb assumes an active meaning. Cf. Cleasby, Vigfusson, 62.

<sup>3</sup> Twice *ō*-forms are quoted, both times from Williram, Graff, III 512.

<sup>4</sup> Note also AgS. *fylg(e)an*, ON. *fylgja*. I am inclined to presuppose for Prim. Teut. two verbs: \**folgan*, represented in AgS. *folgian*, OHG. *folgēn*, OS. *folgon*; \**fulgjan*, represented in AgS. *fylg(e)an*, ON. *fylgja*. Sievers (OE. Gram. 416, n. 5) reckons AgS. *folgian* among those original *ai*-verbs which have in AgS. "a more or less perfect double formation." Such double formations are not infrequent in Prim. Teut.

<sup>5</sup> *ō*-forms are not infrequent in OHG., but the form of the verb shows that *frāgēn* could not have been originally of the *ō*-class. Weak verbs showing in their stem the third ablaut of a strong verb are found only in the *ai*-class or in the *n*-class. Cf. Goth. *fraihnan*, *frāh*, *frēhum*, *fraihans*.

<sup>6</sup> The *n*- must have belonged in Prim. Teut. to the present alone. Cf. also Lat. *hi-are*, Ksl. *zijati* and *zinati*, Fick, 434. The relation between *giēn* and *ginēn* is the same as that between Gothic *keian* and *keinan*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gr. *κλινω*, Lat. *in-clino*, -*āre*. Teut. \**hlinan* and causative \**hlainjan* (OHG. *hleinjan*, AgS. *hlanan*, ON. *hleina*) point to a lost strong verb \**hleinan*, \**hlain*, \**hlinum*. In Teut., as in Latin, the *-n*- originally characteristic of the pres. has extended to the whole conjugation. Cf. *giēn*, *ginēn* above.

<sup>8</sup> In OHG. *hogēn* is found only occasionally with the commoner inflectional forms of *huggan*. Evidently in OHG. the *ai*-verb became confused with the original *j*-verb, \**hugjan* (Goth. *hugjan*, ON. *hyggja*, OHG. *huggan*). Prim. Teut. \**hogan*, \**hugjan* are parallel with Prim. Teut. \**folgan*, \**fulgjan* noticed above. The *j*-forms of AgS. and OS. are not to be assigned to the prim. *j*-verb, but to the AgS. development of the *ai*-inflection.

15. Goth. *kunnan*; OHG. *kunnên*; OS. *kunnon*; AgS. *kunnian*.
16. Goth. *liban*; OHG. *lebên*; OS. *libbjan*; AgS. *libban*; ON. *lifa* (-aði).
17. Goth. *leikan*; OHG. *licchên*; OS. *likon*; AgS. *lician*; ON. *lika* (-aði).
18. Goth. *\*luban* (in *lubains*); OHG. *lobên*; OS. *lobon*; AgS. *lofian*; ON. *lofa*. Cf. Lat. *libère* (= *lubère*); Skr. *lúbhyati*.
19. Goth. *maurnan*; OHG. *mornên*; OS. *mornon*; AgS. *murnde*<sup>1</sup>; ON. *morna*.
20. Goth. *reiran*.<sup>2</sup>
21. Goth. *\*rûnan* (in *rûnains*); OHG. *rûnên*; AgS. *rûnian*; ON. *rýna*.
22. OHG. *sagên*; OS. *seggian*; AgS. *secg(e)an*; ON. *segja*.
23. Goth. *sifan*.<sup>3</sup>
24. Goth. *silan*. Cf. Latin *silêre*.
25. Goth. *slavan*.<sup>3</sup>
26. Goth. *skaman*; OHG. *scamên*; AgS. *scamian*, *sceamian*; ON. *skamma* (-aði).
27. Goth. *saurgan*<sup>4</sup>; OHG. *sorgên*; OS. *sorgon*; AgS. *sorgian*.
28. OHG. *swigên*; AgS. *swigian*; OS. *swigon*.
29. Goth. *staurran*; OHG. *storrên*; ON. *stúra*.
30. OHG. *zalên*<sup>5</sup>; OS. *talon*; AgS. *talian*; ON. *tala*.
31. Goth. *trauan*; OHG. *trûên*, *trûwên*; OS. *trûon*; AgS. *trûwian*; ON. *trúa*.
32. Goth. *þahan*; OHG. *dagên*; OS. *thagon*; ON. *þegja*.
33. Goth. *þivan*; AgS. *þéowian*.
34. Goth. *þarban*; OHG. *darbên*; OS. *tharþon*; AgS. *þearfian*; ON. *þarfa*.
35. Goth. *þulan*; OHG. *dolên*; OS. *tholon*; AgS. *þolian*; ON. *pola*.

<sup>1</sup>In AgS. is found the pret. *mearn*, *murnon* as well as the weak pret. No infinitive occurs.

<sup>2</sup>Prim. *\*ri-rui-mi*, Kluge, PBB. VIII 343; Johansson, Verba contr. 181.

<sup>3</sup>*Sifan* and *slavan* have been lost elsewhere in Teut., and do not appear in the cognate languages. Still, the non-derivative character of the verbs shows that they must be of ancient origin. From their form they could belong to none of the other weak conjugations; hence it seems not too daring to place *slavan* and *sifan* among the Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs.

<sup>4</sup>*Saurgan*. Apparently a nominal derivative (Goth. *saurga*). Johansson places it among the strong aorist (neuter-passive) formations: *\*sorghê-* or *\*sorkê-*. (De deriv. Verb. contr. 192.)

<sup>5</sup>*Zalên* is found (but rarely) in OHG.



36. OHG. *wahhên*<sup>1</sup>; AgS. *wacian*; OS. *wakon*; ON. *vaka* (*vakði*) (Goth. *wakan*).

37. Goth. *witan*; OHG. *wizzên* (in *gi-*, *ir-wizzên*); AgS. *witian*, *weotian*.<sup>2</sup>

38. Goth. *\*wunan* (in *in-vunands*); OHG. *wonên*; OS. *wonon*; AgS. *wonian*.

The preceding verbs may be ascribed with comparative certainty to the Prim. Teut. *ai*-class. To this list might be added certain others which may have been originally *ai*-verbs, but from their present condition it is difficult to say with certainty what was their primitive form:—

1. Gothic *bauan*, *bauaida*; pres. ind. sg. 2 *bauith*, Rom. 7. 18. OHG. *bûen*, *bûwen*, *bûta*; strong pret. part. *gebûwen*. AgS. *bûian*, *bûwian*; *bûda*, *bûida*; st. v. *bûan*; pret. part. *gebûn* -*bûen* -*bÿn*. OS. (Cott.) *bûon*; (M.) *bûan*, *bûida*. ON. *búa*, *bjó*, *bjóggom*, *búenn*.

It is evident that there must have existed in Prim. Teut. a strong verb *\*bauan*, belonging probably to the reduplicating class.<sup>3</sup> The strong forms of Goth., OHG., AgS. and ON. cannot be of late growth. The weak forms, however, common to all the dialects are puzzling. It is hardly possible that these weak forms were developed independently in the different dialects. Hence we must conclude that in Prim. Teut. the strong inflection of *bauan* was gradually yielding to the invasion of weak forms.

<sup>1</sup> *Wahhên*, *wacian*, etc., is to be distinguished from the st. v. *\*wakan* *\*wok* seen in AgS. *wacan wóc*, Friesian *waka* (pres. part. *wakandon-*), ON. pret. part. *wakinn*. It is not apparent from the forms found in Goth. whether Goth. *wakan* is the strong or the weak verb. See Schulze, *Gothische Glossar*: opt. pres. 1. plu. *wakaima*, 2. plu. *wakaip*; part. pres. *wakandans*. A single *ô*-form is found in OHG. (Graff, I 674). Cf. Lat. *vegère*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lat. *vidère*. Still, *vidère* is to be referred directly to Teut. st. v. *\*witan*, not to the *ai*-verb. Teut. *ai*-verb *witan* is simply a derivative from the existent strong verb. *Vidère* and *witan -aida* are not equivalent formations, but are independently developed from the same original strong verb seen in Gr. *εἰδομαι—οἶδα*, Teut. *\*witan*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.* §353, anm. 3: "Hierher (reduplicierende verba, klasse II) gehörte ursprünglich *bûan*—jedoch bildet es seine formen im Ahd. regelmässig nach art der schw. verba I." Further, §354, anm. 3 d (*bûan* bei Otfried): "3. pl. ind. pret. *biruun*, IV 459, und 2. sg. conj. pret. *biruwits*, II 7. 18. Von einigen dieser verba giebt es merkwürdige praeterital-bildungen mit innerem *r*, in denen man vielleicht nachklänge der alten reduplications-praeterita sehen darf." See Schmidt, *KZ.* XIX 285.

What was the character of the usurping inflection? Gothic alone shows a consistent *ai*-inflection, the other dialects pointing to an original *j*-formation. Saxon, it is true, has *būonā* occurring once in a single MS—the regular Saxon representative of a primitive *ai*-verb. But the only preterit form found in that dialect is of the *j*-class, as it is in OHG. and AgS.

It seems to me that there is but one way out of the difficulty, viz. to presuppose for Prim. Teut., not a complete weak inflection, but simply the development of a dental pret., which took the place of the older reduplicated preterit. Such a development seems not unnatural, if it be remembered that the dental preterit is but a development of the old middle past passive participle—not, therefore, necessarily and exclusively a possession of the weak classes.

As to the original form of the weak preterit, it may be granted that within a strong verb only a preterit without connecting vowel could have arisen. As to *magan* the preterit *mahta*, to *skulan* the preterit *skulda* was formed, we should expect, with the present theory of development, to *bauan* a preterit *\*bauda*. If it be granted that the preterit of the *ai*-conjugation is to be found in the AgS. *hæfde*, ON. *hafði*, it is then easy to see how *bauan* was drawn into the *ai*-conjugation. In Gothic *bauda* received the same treatment as did *\*habda*, and developed the corresponding *ai*-forms in the pret. In AgS. and OHG., on the contrary, the pret. fell in naturally with the long-stemmed *j*-verbs; hence the *j*-forms.

*Bauan*, then, belongs to the *ai*-conjugation only thus far, that in Prim. Teut. it developed a dental preterit, equivalent in form to the original preterit of the *ai*-verb.

## 2. OHG. *borgēn*; AgS. *borgian*.

This verb is possibly a Teutonic verbal derivative formed like *ginēn*. Cf. Goth. *bairgan*, OHG. *bërgan*, AgS. *beorgan*. It is possibly, however, a West Germanic denominative. Cf. AgS. *borg*, OHG. *burgo*. In favor of the former derivation, it might be urged that the nature of the *ai*-conjugation makes nominal derivatives rare. If derived from a verb, *borgēn* might without hesitation be ascribed to Prim. Teut.; the denominative would be comparatively late.

## 3. OHG. *garawēn*, *garwēn*, *garawjan*, *garōn*, *garēn*; AgS. *gearwian*, *gearwan*; OS. *garuwian*, *gerwian*; ON. *görva*, *görði*.

*Garawên* is possibly an old *ai*-denominative, but the testimony of the dialects is too contradictory to admit of decision.

4. OHG. *hlosên*, *hlosôn*.

*Hlosên* is certainly an old non-derivative belonging to Prim. Teut., but *hlos-nian* of AgS. shows that it may have belonged originally to the *-n*-inflection. Verbs of this latter conjugation pass regularly in OHG. into the *ê*-class; e. g. Goth. *tundnan* = OHG. *zundên*, Goth. *mikilnan* = OHG. *nichilên*, etc. In AgS., on the contrary, the *-n*- is often retained.

5. Goth. *hveilan*; OHG. *hwiltôn*; AgS. *hwiltian*.

The fact that the *ê*-class is the regular Teutonic class of nominal derivatives makes it probable that, in this case, OHG. and AgS. have preserved the older form.

6. Gothic *\*wanan* (in verbal noun *wanains*); OHG. *wanôn*; AgS. *wanian*.

An old adj. derivative. Goth. *wans*, ON. *vanr*, etc. As to the original form, Gothic alone cannot be considered decisive.

7. Goth. *weihan*; OHG. *wihjan* (Graff, I 724, quotes a single *ê*-form); ON. *vígja*, *vígði*.

It is not certain whether this verb belonged originally to the *ai*- or to the *j*-class. The fact that it is always transitive is testimony in favor of the latter view.

\* To this list may be added a comparatively large number of denominatives common to OHG. and Sax., to AgS. and OS., or to the three dialects. These denominatives have in West Germanic the treatment of *ai*-verbs, and still are not to be ascribed to Prim. Teut.:—

1. OHG. <i>arnên</i> (-ôn)		AgS. <i>earnian</i> .
2. <i>baldên</i>		<i>bealdian</i> .
3. <i>dagên</i>		<i>tagian</i> .
4. <i>fârên</i>	OS. <i>fâron</i>	
5. <i>êrên</i>	<i>êron</i>	
6. <i>gebên</i>	<i>gebon</i>	<i>geofian</i> .
7. <i>haftên</i>	<i>hafton</i>	
8. <i>hlûttarên</i>		<i>hluttrian</i> .
9. <i>hriuwên</i>	<i>hriwon</i>	
10. <i>klagên</i>	<i>klagon</i>	

11.	OHG. <i>kuolên</i>	OS. <i>côlon</i>	AgS. <i>côlian</i> .
12.	<i>lamên</i>	<i>lamon</i>	
13.	<i>langên</i>	<i>langon</i>	<i>langian</i> .
14.	<i>queckên</i>	<i>quikon</i>	<i>cwician</i> .
15.	<i>rifên</i>	<i>ripon</i>	<i>ripian</i> .
16.	<i>wariên</i>	<i>wardon</i>	<i>weardian</i> .

A consideration of the preceding list of original *ai*-verbs brings out certain facts which are of importance for the light they throw upon the original character and function of the class.

(1) Of the thirty-eight verbs that may be ascribed to Prim. Teut., eight only are denominatives, viz. *arman*, *fullên*, *leikan*, *rûuan*, *skaman*, *zalên*, *thiwan*, *wunan*.

(2) The following are deverbatives, i. e. verbs coexisting with and derived from strong verbs:

*ginên*—from \**gīnan*, \**gain*. (Cf. OHG. *geinjan*, AgS. *gēnan*.)  
*klebên*—from \**klīban*. (Cf. OHG. *klīban*, *kleib*, ON. *clīfa*, *cleif*.)  
*hlinên*—from \**hlīnan*, \**hlain*. (Cf. OHG. *hleijnjan*, ON. *hleina*.)  
*liban*—\**līban*, \**laib*. (Cf. Goth. *ga-leiban*.)  
*hâhan*—st. reduplicating verb \**hanhan*. (Cf. Goth. *hâhan*, OHG. *hâhan*, AgS. *hôn*, etc.)  
*wahhên*—\**wacan*, \**wôc*. (Cf. AgS. *wacan wôc*, ON. pret. part. *vakinn*.)  
*frâgên*—\**frihnan frah*. (Cf. Goth. *fraihnan*, etc.)

From the pret. pres. verbs *kunnan*, *witan*, *parban* have been developed the *ai*-verbs *kunnan*, *kunnaida*; *witan*, *witaida*; *parban*, *parbaida*.

(3) There remain twenty non-derivatives, viz. *aistan*, *bibên*, *fi(j)an*, *folgên*, *haban*, *hatan*, *hogên*, *luban*, *maurnan*,<sup>1</sup> *reiran*, *sagên*, *sifan*, *silan*, *slavan*, *saurgan*,<sup>2</sup> *swigên*, *staurran*, *trauan*, *pahan*, *pulan*.

A comparison of these non-derivatives with the same verbs as they exist in the cognate languages shows that there, too, they

<sup>1</sup> The AgS. pret. *mearn* (pl. *murnon*) is apparently the remnant of an old strong verb. If such a strong verb existed in Prim. Teut., *maurnan* should be added to the list of verbal derivatives. But the AgS. preterit is possibly a new formation, like the Middle High German *sweic*, pret. of *swigan*, beside *swete*.

<sup>2</sup> Johansson, 192.

are non-derivatives. *Aistan* is in Greek αἰδομαι (= \*aiδoμαι).<sup>1</sup> *Bibēn* is, according to Fick and Kluge, original \*bhi-bhai-mi, *reiran* is \*ri-rai-mi.<sup>2</sup> Sanskr. *piyati* is Teut. *fi-j-an*; Skr. *ṣḍḍati*, Teut. *hatan*. Teut. *pulan* is Grk. *τελυν* (cp. *ἐτάλασσα*); Teut. *sagēn*, Grk. *ἐννεπε*, *ἐν-σπε* (Lat. *in-sece*).

Reconsider, now, the relation of the Teutonic *ai*-verbs with the Latin verbs in *ē*, upon which so much stress has been laid. The number of Latin and Teutonic equivalents is in reality very small. There are only *haban*, *habēre*; *luban*, *lubēre*; *silan*, *silēre*; *pahan*, *tacēre*; *witan*, *vidēre*. Of these, *vidēre* is of little importance in evidence of the original identity of the two classes, inasmuch as *witan* is apparently a Teutonic derivative. A like development is seen in Teut. *wacan*, *wachēn*; Lat. *vegēre*. Furthermore, Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs may be represented in Latin in other conjugations; e. g. *gi-ēn*, Lat. *hiāre*; *hlinēn*, Lat. *in-clināre*; *hatan*, Lat. *cadēre*; *sagēn*, Lat. *in-sece*.

The likeness of vocabulary noticeable in the Latin *ē*-class and the Teutonic *ai*-class admits of ready explanation as the result of likeness in function. It would, indeed, be unnatural that two classes, holding the same position in their respective languages, should not have some verbs in common. But identity of function and likeness in vocabulary are not sufficient to prove identity of origin. A more important point of resemblance is seen in the character of the stem-syllable. So much must be conceded to Johansson's theory, that the stem of the Teutonic *ai*-conjugation is not the present stem, that it is the same as that found in the Latin *ē*-class, and that both agree in this respect with the Greek passive *η*-aorist.<sup>3</sup>

A comparison of the *ai*-inflection with the corresponding *-n-an*-inflection is not without interest. In the latter class the stem shows the third grade of the vowel; e. g. *us-luknan*, from *lūkan*; *tundnan*, from \**tindan* (cf. *tandjan*); *bundnan*, from *bindan*; *lusnan*, from *liusan*; *lifnan*, from *ga-leiban*, etc. The method of formation is the same in the *ai*-deverbatives *klebēn*, *hlinēn*, *liban*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Bezzenger, Beitr. IV 313.

<sup>2</sup> For etymology of *bibēn* = \**bhi-bhai-mi*, see Fick, Wb.<sup>3</sup> IV, p. 50, and Kluge, KZ. XXVI, p. 85; for *reiran* = \**ri-rai-mi*, Kluge, PBB. VIII 343. See Johansson, De deriv. Verb. contr. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Johansson, 192. \*



A further parallel between the two conjugations is seen in their treatment of denominatives. Regularly beside the passive *-ai-* or *-n-an-* verbs might be developed an active causative verb in *-j-*; e. g.

Goth. *haftnan*, AgS. *hæfnian*, ON. *haftna*.

Goth. *haftjan*, AgS. *hæftan*, OHG. *haftjan*.

OHG. *zalên*, OS. *talon*, AgS. *talian*, ON. *tala*.

OHG. *zellan*, OS. *tellian*, AgS. *tellan*, ON. *telja*.

OHG. *hangên*, OS. *hangon*, AgS. *hangian*, ON. *hanga* (st. v.)

OHG. *hengen*.

In both conjugations the denominatives are of late formation.

The Prim. Teut. existence of correlative *ai-* and *j-* formations is further of interest within the *ai-* conjugation itself. In Prim. Teut., without doubt, the difference between the two formations in meaning and function was strictly kept. But in some cases the early distinction was gradually lost, and, in consequence, a confusion of forms arose. Take, for example, the verbs *hatan* and *hatjan*. No distinction is made between them in Gothic; yet the evidence of all the other dialects shows that they were originally independent verbs:—

Goth. *hatan*, OHG. *hazzên*, AgS. *hatian*, OS. *haton*, ON. *hata*.

Goth. *hatjan*, OHG. *hezzen*, AgS. *\*hettan* (*hettende*), OS. *hettjan*.

Another instance of the confusion of inflections is found in *wachên*:—

OHG. *wahhên*, OS. *wakon*, AgS. *wacian*, ON. *vaka*.

Goth. *wakjan*, OHG. *wakjan*, AgS. *\*wæccan* (*wæccende*), ON. *vekja*.

I see no way of accounting for

OHG. *folgên*, AgS. *folgian*, AgS. *fylgian*, ON. *fylgja*

but by presupposing two original verbs *\*folgan* and *\*fulgjan*. The evidence of Goth. *hugjan*, OHG. *hogên* seems to point to two originally related verbs.

This tendency to double formation, having its origin in Prim. Teut., accounts, in part at least, for what Sievers and other grammarians have considered a peculiar treatment of the *ai-* verb in AgS. Sievers (OE. Gram. 416, n. 5) remarks, with regard to

the treatment of the *ai*-verbs in AgS.: "They have either gone over to the second class, or have a more or less perfect double formation, and are thus inflected in both classes: *fylg(e)an—fylgde* and *folgian—folgode*, *tellan—tealde* and *talian—talode*. From *wacian* there is a present participle *wæccende*; and from *hatian*, the present participle *hettende*."<sup>1</sup>

B.—*Treatment of the Original ai-class in the Teutonic Dialects.*

In treating the dialectic development of the *ai*-class, the following points are to be considered:

(a) The relative extent and importance of the conjugation in the various dialects.

(b) The manner in which each dialect preserves and modifies the original characteristics and tendencies of the class.

(c) The condition of the dialects with regard to inflection.

(a) With regard to the first point for discussion—the extent of the *ai*-class in the dialects—the case may be thus stated in general terms: Gothic and Norse are upon practically the same footing in their treatment of the class—in both dialects the verbs are few in number, and nearly all of them are neuters. Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon have practically lost the inflection, the primitive *ai*-verbs which have been retained in those dialects passing regularly into the *ô*-class. In OHG. alone has this class assumed any importance in the general process of verb-development. There it appears as a very large class, capable of indefinite growth.

The Norse *ai*-class includes the following verbs<sup>2</sup>: *blaka, brosa, drúpa, duga, flaka, gana, gapa, gnapa, gá, glotta, grúfa, hafa, horfa, hvalfa, kaupá, kligja, lafa, lifa, ljá, loða, lúma, mara, ná, sama, segja, sóma, skolla, skorta, spara, stara, stúra, tjá, trúa, ugga, una, vaka, vara, þegja, þola, þora, þrasa*. The number of original *ai*-verbs among these is small: *hafa, lifa, segja, trúa, þola, þegja, una* and *vaka*. The rest of the primitive verbs of the third class have passed either into the *j*- or into the *ô*-class.

Norse *ô*-verbs originally *ai*-verbs are *ffjá—ffjáði, hata—hataði, lika—likaði, skamma—skammaði, sorga—sorgaði*. Norse verbs in

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that *wæccende, hettende*, have been preserved, not as present participles of *wacian, hatian*, but as participial nouns.

<sup>2</sup> See Wimmer, §150; Noreen, §434.

*j-* originally in *ai-* are *bifa-bifði* (late *bifaði*), *æsta-æsti*, *rýna-rýndi*. The pret. *hangði*, used interchangeably with *hekk*, should perhaps be counted among the Norse representatives of the *ai*-class.

In AgS. the sole remnants of the original class are *habban*, *libban*, *secg(e)an*, *hycg(e)an*. The other verbs classed by Sievers with these to form the third weak conjugation—viz. *ðréag(e)an*, *sméag(e)an*, *féog(e)an*, *fréog(e)an*—do not, with the exception of *féog(e)an*, belong to the original *ai*-class. They may, moreover, be accounted for regularly as contract verbs of the second class. Take, for example, *fréog(e)an*, which by the regular laws of contraction is thus derived: Goth. *frijôn* = AgS. *fréon*. In accordance with AgS. development, *fréon* becomes *fréog(e)an*. Now, if this verb has in AgS. the inflection of *habban*, *secg(e)an*, etc., there should be umlaut in the infinitive, the first person sing. pres. ind., etc. "The original inflection," says Sievers,<sup>1</sup> "is more clearly perceptible in Ps. than in WS." But the *i* of Ps. *frígan* is not necessarily the *i*-umlaut of *éo*. It is found not infrequently where umlaut is impossible, and can only be considered a dialectic treatment of *éo* before *g*. For example, *wríga* is quoted for WS. *wrëon*, *tih* for *teoh*,<sup>2</sup> *flígu* and *lígende* for *fléogu* and *fléogende*.<sup>3</sup>

The following process of development seems possible:

Pres. ind. sg. 1, ( <i>sealf-ie</i> )	= WS. <i>fréo-ge</i>	= Ps. <i>fri-gu</i> .
2, <i>frij-ðst</i>	= <i>fréost</i>	= <i>fréast</i> . <sup>4</sup>
3, <i>frij-ðp</i>	= <i>fréoð</i>	= <i>fréað</i> , <i>fréoð</i> .
pl. 1, 2, 3, ( <i>sealf-iað</i> )	= <i>fréo-gað</i>	= <i>fri-gað</i> .
imp. sg. 2, <i>frij-ð</i>	= <i>fréo</i>	= <i>fréa</i> .
pl. 2, ( <i>sealf-iað</i> )	= <i>fréo-g(e)að</i>	= <i>fri-gað</i> .
Pret. ind. <i>frij-ðde</i>	= <i>fréode</i>	= <i>fréode</i> , <i>fréade</i> .

The inflection of *féogan* is exactly the same as that of *fréog(e)an*, the Ps. forms being *figan-figu*, *féast*, *féað*, *figað-féa*, *figað*, *féade*. In the same way, *sméag(e)an* may be conceived as a contract verb of the *ð*-class, the *é* of *smégan*, *smégu* being the regular dialectic representative of *éa* before *g* (Sievers, 163).

<sup>1</sup> OE. Gram. 416, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> OE. Gram. 383.

<sup>3</sup> OE. Gram. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Sievers, §166, 3: "WG. *i*, *a* (from *o*) gives *éa* in Ps.: *fréa*, beside *fréo*: North. *frío*, *fréo*." Also WS. *fréo*.

The possible development, then, might be thus expressed:  
*\*smauðn* = *sméa(a)n* = AgS. *smédg(e)an* = Ps. *smégan*; AgS. *sméage* = Ps. *smégu*; *\*smauðst* = AgS. *sméa(a)st*; *\*smauðþ* = AgS. *sméa(a)ð* = WS. *sméag(e)að* = Ps. *smégað*, etc.

Such a process of elimination reduces the third class in AgS. to the condition of the same class in OS., where there remain only *hebbian*, *libbian*, *huggian* and *seggian*.

(b) The Saxon dialects, as has been seen, have no independent *ai*-class. Consequently they are thrown out of the consideration in treating the extent to which the dialects preserve and modify the original characteristics. But while AgS. and OS. yielded the *ai*- in favor of the *ê*-inflection, OHG. seized upon the central characteristic of the original conjugation as the basis of development for an important class. As Jacobi (*Beiträge zur deutschen Gram.*) long ago pointed out, very few of the OHG. *ê*-class are transitive verbs.

By means of such emphasis upon the passive nature of the original class, OHG. pushed to its farthest extreme that power of double formation seen already in Prim. Teut. The *ê*- and *j*-formations became thus active and passive counterparts, any adjective being capable of taking either form. *Bald* appears in *baldjan*, where the meaning *to embolden* is required, while *baldên* simply states the possession of the quality of boldness. The significance of the *ai*-development in OHG. may be illustrated by a consideration of the Gothic *j*-class as represented in OHG.: Goth. *blindjan* is OHG. *blinden*, to blind; *blintên*, to be or to become blind. Goth. *drôbbjan* is OHG. *truoben*, to trouble; *truobên*, to be troubled. Goth. *haftjan* is OHG. *heftan*, to bind; *haftên*, to be bound. Goth. *hardjan* is OHG. *hardjan*, to harden; *hardên*, to become hard. Goth. *hailjan* is OHG. *heilen*, to cure, save; *heilên*, to heal. Goth. *hveitjan* is OHG. *hwizjan*, to whiten; *hwitên*, to be white. Goth. *lauhatjan* is OHG. *lohazzen*, *lohazên*, both intransitive. Goth. *marzjan* is OHG. *marrjan*, to impede; [*marrên*], MHG. *marren*, to stop (i. e. to be impeded). Goth. *warmjan* is OHG. *warmjan*, to warm; *warmên*, to become warm. Examples might be quoted indefinitely in further illustration of the point.

In Saxon and Anglo-Saxon it is noticeable that the *ê*-conjugation exercises, in a certain measure, the passive function belonging

in Prim. Teut. to the *ai*-class. The explanation of this can only be that, with the passage of the *ai*-verbs into the  $\delta$ -conjugation, the power of passive formation was transferred to the latter. So there arose such verbs as the following, which preserved, throughout the AgS. period, their old distinction of form; *earmian*, to be wretched, *yrman*, to render wretched; *bealdian*, to be bold, *byldan*, to embolden; *cólian*, to be cold, *célan*, to cool; *drúgian*, to become dry, *drýgan*, to dry; *blácian*, to be pale, *blēcan*, to bleach (i. e. to make pale); *cláþian*, to buy, *cýþan*, to sell (i. e. to cause to buy); *cwacian*, to tremble, *cweccan*, to cause to tremble; *forhtian*, to be afraid, *fyrhtan*, to cause fear; *latian*, to be late, *lettan*, to hinder (i. e. to make late); *wearmian*, to be warm, *wyrman*, to make warm. Many other AgS. double formations occur, which keep the old distinction of form but preserve no trace of the old difference of meaning. For example, *beorhtian*, *byrhtan*, to shine; *fullian*, *fyllan*, both meaning 'to fill' and 'to fulfil'; *stalian* and *stellan*, to establish; *dóman*, *dēman*, to judge.<sup>1</sup> Old Saxon shows traces of a like development in *hafton*, *heftian*; *hardon*, *herdian*; *stillon*, *stillian*; *twiflon*, *twiflian*; *wakon*, *wekkian*.

The question now arises, How does it happen that the characteristic development of the *ai*-class is not found in Gothic and Old Norse? The explanation is contained in the development of the *-n-an*-class in those dialects. The two classes held, of course, the same position in Primitive Teutonic. But in West Germanic the *ai*-inflection was developed as the class of passive formation, while in East Germanic a parallel development took place with the *-n-an*-inflection. The parallel is made the more striking by the fact that the *-n-an*-class in Norse, like the *ai*-class in AgS., passed into the  $\delta$ -conjugation. Gothic, then, alone bears evidence to the development of the medial *-n-an*-inflection as a means of constructing passive denominatives corresponding to active and causative *j*-verbs; e. g. (see Meyer, *Die gotische Sprache*, §§213, 214) *ga-batnan*, to be of use, *ga-batjan*, to make use of; *ga-blindnan*, to be blind, *ga-blindjan*, to make blind; *af-daubnan*, to be or to become hardened, *af-daubjan*, to render

<sup>1</sup> This peculiarity of the *ai*-development may account for many irregularities in the AgS. weak verbs. For example, *adrúgde* (Sievers, 416, n. 5) may be, not an old *ai*-pret., but the result of confusion between *drúgode* and *drýgde*. From *longian* 'to long for' and *lengan* 'to lengthen,' there arose the verb *lengian*.



hard; *dróbnan*, to be disheartened, *dróbjan*, to dishearten; *af-dumbnan*, to become dumb, *af-dumbjan*, to make dumb; *fullnan*, to be full, *fulljan*, to fill; *haftnan*, to hang (intr.), *haftjan*, to hang (tr.), etc.

Numerous examples might be quoted in direct support of the parallelism existing in East and West Germanic with regard to their respective development of the two conjugations. A few may suffice. Take, for instance, the already quoted example of verbal derivatives from Teut. \**blind-s*: East Germ., Goth. *blindnan*, *blindjan*, ON. *blindna*, West Germ., OHG. *blintên*, *blintjan*. From *hail*- are formed EG., Goth. *hailnan*, *ga-hailjan*, WG., OHG. *heilên*, *heiljan*, AgS. *hēlan*. From *mikil*:- Goth. *mikilnan*, *mikiljan*, OHG. *mihhilên*, AgS. *miclian*, *miclan*. From *hard*:- ON. *hardna*, *herda*, OHG. *hartên*, *hartjan*, OS. *hardon*, *herdjan*. From *bat*:- (Goth. *batiza*) Goth. *ga-batnan*, ON. *batna*, OHG. *bazên*. From *fast*:- ON. *fastna*, *festa*, OHG. *fastên*, *fastjan*. In some cases the two tendencies are not distinct; for AgS. has still traces of the *-n-an*-verb, while Norse and Gothic preserve the *ai*-inflection. Thus the condition of *wakan* receives explanation: E. Germ., Goth. *wakjan*, ON. { *vaka*, *vekja*; *vakna*, W. Germ., OHG. *wahhên*, *wecchen*, OS. *wakon*, *wekkjan*, AgS. { *wacian*, *wæccan*. Again, Goth. *haftnan*, *haftjan*, ON. *haftna*, OHG. *haftên*, *heftan*, OS. *hafton*, *heftjan*, AgS. *hæftnian*, *hæftan*. By the development of the *-n-an*-conjugation, the passive function of the *ai*-verb was lost sight of in Gothic, as is shown, for example, in *weihan*, *-aida*, to hallow; *weihnan*, to become holy. OHG. in this case has *wihjan*, ON. *vígja*.<sup>1</sup>

(c) In order to represent the inflectional condition of the third weak class in Teutonic, it will be natural to compare the regular

<sup>1</sup> As in AgS. the passage of the *ai*-verbs into the  $\beta$ -class gave to that class the passive function, so in Norse the same function was given to the  $\beta$ -class by the entrance into it of the *-n-an*-verbs. This is evidenced by the many double formations in Norse used without distinction of meaning; e. g. *duna-dunnaði*: *dynja-dundi*; *ein-kunna-kunnaði*, *-kynna-kynti*; *fegra-fegraði*, *fegra-fegrði*; *fiska-fiskaði*, *fiskja-fiskði*; *frosta-frostaði*, *frysta-frysti*; *glada-gladaði*: *gleðja-gladdi*. These must have been originally active and passive correlatives.

inflection in each of the other dialects with that in the Gothic.  
To begin with OHG.:

	From Goth.	we expect in OHG.	but find
Ind. pres. sg. 1,	<i>haba</i>	* <i>habu</i>	<i>habēm</i>
2,	<i>habais</i>	<i>habēs</i>	
3,	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>habam</i>	* <i>habam-ēs</i>	<i>habēmēs</i>
	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
	<i>haband</i>	* <i>habant</i>	<i>habênt</i>
Opt. pres. sg. 2,	<i>habais</i>	<i>habēs</i>	
3,	<i>habai</i>	1 + 3, <i>habē</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>habaima</i>	<i>habēm</i>	
2,	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
3,	<i>habaina</i>	<i>habên</i>	
Imp. sg. 2,	<i>habai</i>	<i>habē</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>habam</i>	* <i>habam-ēs</i>	<i>habēmēs</i>
	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
Ind. pret.	<i>habuida</i>	<i>habêta</i>	

Mahlow (Die langen Vocale) sees a difficulty in considering OHG. *ê* the equivalent of Goth. *ai*; for, he maintains, the regular OHG. treatment of Goth. *ai* is seen in *arabeit* (Goth. *arbaiþs*). In the Alemannian opt. *hasteie*, *hasteiest* Mahlow finds the desired form. The objections to this view are: (1) *ei* of Alemannian opt. is not an original diphthong, but a writing for *ej* (sometimes *eg*), the *j* of which was introduced late to separate *êe*, the reg. Alem. opt. ending; (2) unaccented Goth. *ai*, not auslaut, becomes *ê* outside the conj., e. g. Goth. *blindaim* = OHG. *blintēm*. The *ai* in *arabeit* has received the treatment of *ai* in accented syllables, because of its strong secondary stress.

The OHG. inflection, then, is in all respects that of the Goth., save that the Goth. strong forms in the present are replaced by regular forms in *ê*.

In Norse it is more difficult than in OHG. to recognize the original end-vowels; for in the process of development the original conditions have been obscured, so that forms once distinct fall together. For example, the endings of the long-syllable verbs of the first class are no longer to be distinguished from those of the third, in spite of the difference in origin. In the present case the strong optative shows the regular develop-

ment of the vowel in unaccented syllables; e. g. Goth. *fallan*, *fallais*, *fallai* = ON. *falla*, *faller*, -*ir*, *falle*, -*i*.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to OHG., *ai* in unaccented syllables not auslaut has in Norse the same treatment as auslaut *ai*. Thus, then, the Goth. and ON. *ai*-inflections may be compared:—

	Goth. <i>trauan</i> .	Expected Norse forms.	Variations.
Ind. pres. sg. 1,	<i>traua</i>	* <i>trý</i> (?)	<i>trúe</i> , - <i>i</i>
2,	<i>trauais</i>	2 + 3, <i>trúer</i> , - <i>ir</i>	
3,	<i>trauaiþ</i>		
pl. 1,	<i>trauam</i>	<i>trúm</i>	
2,	<i>trauaiþ</i>	<i>trúeð</i> , - <i>ið</i>	
3,	<i>trauand</i>	<i>trúa</i>	
Opt. pres. sg. 1,	<i>trauan</i>	<i>trúa</i>	
2,	<i>trauais</i>	<i>trúer</i> , - <i>ir</i>	
3,	<i>trauai</i>	<i>trúe</i> , - <i>i</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>trauaima</i>	<i>trúem-im</i>	
2,	<i>trauaiþ</i>	<i>trúeð</i> , - <i>ið</i>	
3,	<i>trauaina</i>	<i>trúe</i> , - <i>i</i> (?)	
Imp. sg. 2,	<i>trauai</i>	<i>trúe</i> , - <i>i</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>trauam</i>	<i>trúm</i>	
2,	<i>trauaiþ</i>	<i>trúeð</i> , - <i>ið</i>	
Ind. pret. <i>trauaida</i>		* <i>trúeði</i> , - <i>iði</i>	<i>trúði</i>
Part. pret. <i>trauaiþs</i>		* <i>trúðr-trúit</i>	<i>trúat</i>

<sup>1</sup> In the present system ON. reflects, with even more faithfulness than does OHG., the condition of the Gothic verb. In the pret., however, ON. differs from both the other dialects. There is no doubt that in ON. the pret. part. as well as the pret. ind. had originally the short form. The part. in -*aðr-at* is a comparatively late development, after the analogy of the *ð*-inflection. Remnants of the older conditions are found in *gáðr* to the verb *gá*, in *horft* to *horfa*, *skort* to *skorta*, *spart* to *spara*, *þolt* to *þola*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Between Norse and the Saxon dialects the point of contact lies in the common forms of the pret. In the inflection of the present, however, Saxon and Anglo-Saxon differ entirely from the other dialects:—

<sup>1</sup> See Noreen, *Altnord. Gram.* 442; Collitz, *Die Behandlung des urspr. auslaut. ai*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Noreen, 434, 435.

		Expected Sax. forms.		Actual inflection.	
	Goth. <i>haban.</i>	Sax. * <i>haban.</i>	AgS. * <i>hafan.</i>	Sax. <i>hebbian.</i>	AgS. <i>habban.</i>
Ind. pres. sg. 1, <i>haba</i>		* <i>habu</i>	* <i>hafu</i>	<i>hebbiu</i>	<i>hæbbe</i>
2, <i>habais</i>		<i>habes</i>	<i>hafas</i>	<i>habas, -es</i>	<i>hafas(t)</i>
3, <i>habaiþ</i>		<i>habeth</i>	<i>hafað</i>	<i>habath, -eth</i>	<i>hafað</i>
pl. 2, <i>habaiþ</i>		* <i>habeth</i>	* <i>hafað</i>	<i>hebbiath</i>	<i>hæbbað</i>
Opt. sg. 1, <i>habau</i>		* <i>haba</i>	* <i>hafa</i>	<i>hebbie</i>	<i>hæbbe</i>
Ind. pret. <i>habaida</i>		* <i>habeda</i>	* <i>hafada</i>	<i>habda</i>	<i>hæfda</i>
Part. pret. <i>habaiþs</i>		* <i>habeth</i>	* <i>hafad</i>	<i>habd</i>	<i>hæfd</i>
Imp. <i>habai</i>		* <i>haba</i>	* <i>hafa</i>	<i>haba-e</i>	<i>hafa</i>

The *-i*-forms of the Cotton MS are noteworthy, e. g. Cott. *habis*, *habi* against Mon. *habas*, *habes*. Prof. Collitz<sup>1</sup> points out that this *-i-* is late, introduced into the inflection from the *j*-conj. Prof. Collitz's position is justly taken, for the *-as*, *-es*-forms of the Mon. could not be explained on the basis of the Cott. inflection. Moreover, the Cott. MS has *habes* once, while the absence of umlaut in *habis* shows that the formation must be late.

With regard to AgS. the question arises, Are *hafast*, *hafað* the equivalents of Goth. *habais*, *habaiþ*? They are apparently *ð*-forms: from the condition of Old Sax. we should expect *-es*, *eð*. In Old Sax. *ai-* in unaccented syllables not auslaut has the same treatment as auslaut *ai-*.<sup>2</sup> The same is apparently true in AgS., e. g. optative pl. ending *-en* = Goth. *-aina*. Still, it is further true that AgS. shows *-an* interchanging with *-en*, like that of Mon. *habas-es*, though the *a* in AgS. is less common. The stages of development in AgS. would seem to be, then, *-aina*, *-an*, *-en*. It seems to me most probable that *hafast*, *hafað* are not *ð*-forms, but that the older *a* from *ai* has been preserved from the influence of the *ð*-inflection. AgS. *hæfst*, *hæfð*, the common forms in prose (see Sievers, AgS. Gram. 416, n. 1; Cosijn, Altwestsächsische Gram. 133), cannot, however, come directly from *hafast*, *hafað*, but presuppose *hæfest*, *hæfeð*. The latter forms occur in Northumbrian, as will be at once seen in examining, for instance, the Lindisfarne Gospels (Durham Book) and the Rushworth MS. In the Gospel of St. Matthew<sup>3</sup> the following variants are found: 2 sg. *hæfest* (R.), *hæfes* (L.); 3 sg. (*be*)-*haves-hæfis* (L.), *hæfeð* (R. + L.), *hæfð* (R.). The forms *hæfest* (*hæfst*), *hæfð* (*hæfeð*) bear the same relation to *hafast*, *hafað* that Mon. *habas*, *habath*

<sup>1</sup> Urspr. auslaut. *ai*, 43.

<sup>2</sup> For AgS. auslaut *ai* see Collitz, Urspr. auslaut. *ai*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> The Gospel according to St. Matthew in AgS., North. and Old Mercian. Edited by Kemble and Skeat.

bear to Mon. *habes, habeth*. Imp. *hæfe*, too, occurs in the North. Gospel as *habe* in the Heliand.

To sum up the important points regarding the inflectional condition of the *ai*-class in Teutonic:—Goth. and OHG. are on the same footing, but, at the same time, OHG. has not the strong forms of the Goth.; ON. agrees in the present system with OHG., but has a preterit without connecting vowel; AgS. and OS. in the present system agree with Goth., OHG. and ON. only in the form of 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind., everywhere else in the present *j*-forms occur. The Saxon preterit is the same as that of the Norse.

In addition to the small groups of verbs representing the *ai*-class in AgS., there are a few verbs of the *δ*-class which have the shortened pret. of the *ai*-verbs, and are therefore sometimes reckoned with them. But only in case the verb was an original *ai*-verb is it safe to argue from the short pret. an earlier *ai*-inflection. The prets. *swīgde, licde, murnde*<sup>1</sup> are without doubt remnants of an older condition. Sievers considers indicative of a like development such forms as *plægde, gepingde, gedrūgde*, beside *drūgade, plagade, pingede*.

There is, however, positive evidence to show that irregularities of this kind may find sufficient explanation in the instability of the AgS. *-δ*- and *-j*-classes. By the presence in AgS. of a *-j*- in the *-δ*-inflection, the two conjugations are brought together; hence, confusion arises. In Grein's *Sprachsatz* are found the following striking instances of changing inflection: *æmettan, æmetian; ehtan, ehtian (eahtan, eahtian); gearwian, gearwan, gyrwan; hlynian* (in pret. *hlynode*), *hlynnan; hwearfan, hwearfian; plegan* (only inf.), *plegian* (only pret.); *swarian, swerian; wrixlian, wrixlan*. This point is quite distinct from that noted above, of the original power of forming passive verbs, with correlatives in the active *j*-class. Still, as the original functions are obscured in AgS., and old distinctions have lost their original force, it becomes almost impossible to determine when the double formation is old, and when it comes from a comparatively late confusion of inflections.

Departures from the regular inflection may be noted here in passing. In OHG. occasional short preterits are found like those of AgS. and Norse; e. g. *frāgda* (*frāgta, frācta*), Graff, III 814; *hapta* (Frg. 4 times, Is. 1), Graff, IV 726; *hogta*, Graff, IV 786: occasional *j*-forms; *hebis, hebit; segis, segit; libis, libit; libita*,

<sup>1</sup> Sievers, *Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba*, PBB. VIII 90.



*habita* (*hebila*). In ON. *hafa*, *segja*, *pegja* have a mixed *ai*- and *j*-inflection.

(*d*) The common *ð*-tendency. In all the dialects outside of Gothic there is a decided tendency toward the *ð*-development. Norse, perhaps, shows this to a degree less marked than any of the other dialects; still, the tendency is there unmistakable. Certain of the verbs having a full *ai*-inflection are at the same time fully or partially inflected with the second class, i. e. *trúa* (in *mistrúa*), *gana*, *blaka* (pret. only in *ð*), *spara*. The *ð*-past part. has almost replaced the older one without vowel, e. g. *spar(a)t*, *þol(a)t*, *dugat*, *unat*, etc. Six of the Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs have passed over entirely into the *ð*-conjugation: *fulla*, *fullaði*; *hata*, *hataði*; *líka*, *líkaði*; *skamma*, *skammaði*; *sorga*, *sorgaði*; *tala*, *talaði*.

The explanation of the Norse *ð*-tendency is to be found in the general condition of the weak verbal development in that dialect. The second weak class is in Norse the largest and most important class, including the original fourth and second. On the other hand, the third class is small and unimportant, holding no active, independent position in the language. Furthermore, the second and third classes are brought together by the lack of umlaut throughout the inflection. It is not unnatural that the more important conj. should tend to absorb the less important, especially where the two are so nearly allied in form as they are in ON.

In OHG. the intrusion of *ð*-forms into the *ê*-inflection is very common. Piper's edition of Otfried gives the following interchanging forms found in that text alone: *êrên*, *êrôn*; *fagên*, *fagôn*; *frâgên*, *frâgôn*; *holên*, *holôn*; *klagên*, *klagôn*; *korên*, *korôn*; *lobên*, *lobôn*; *losên*, *losôn*; *manên*, *manôn*; *mêrên*, *mêrôn*; *riuwên*, *riuwôn*; *sparên*, *sparôn*; *suftên*, *suftôn*; *sworgên*, *sworgôn*; *thionên*, *thionôn*; *tholên*, *tholôn*; *werdên*, *werdôn*; *werên*, *werôn*; *wernên*, *wernôn*; *wisên*, *wisôn*; *wonên*, *wonôn*; *zalên*, *zalôn*. Besides the original *ai*-verbs found in this list, still others belong here: *bibên*, *bibôn* (found once); *folgên*, *folgôn*; *ginên*, *ginôn*; *habên*, *habôn* (in a single text, see Graff, IV 723 sq.); *hlinên*, *hlinôn*; *trûên*, *trûôn*; *wahhên*, *wahhôn*; *hlosên*, *hlosôn*.

The tendency, however, to the *ð*-inflection is not in OHG. peculiar to the third class, as is evident from the fact that the same tendency is characteristic of the OHG. *j*-development, e. g. Goth. *ambajtjan* = OHG. *ambahten*, *ambahtôn*; Goth. *arbaidjan* = OHG. *arbeiten*, *arbeitôn*; Goth. *gaumjan* = OHG. *goumjan*, *goumôn*; Goth. *hrainjan* = OHG. *hreinjan*, *reinôn*; Goth. *hug-*

*garjan* = OHG. *hungaren*, *hungarôn*; Goth. *lausjan* = OHG. *lösjan*, *losôn*; Goth. *stainjan* = OHG. *steinen*, *steinôn*; Goth. *taiknjan* = OHG. *zeichnen*, *zeichnenôn*; Goth. *tamjan* = OHG. *zamjan*, *zamôn*; Goth. *timrjan* = OHG. *zimbaren*, *zimbarôn*; Goth. *twelfjan* = OHG. *zwifelen*, *zwifelôn*; Goth. *wagjan* = OHG. *weggen*, *wagôn*; Goth. *waltjan* = OHG. *walzen*, *walzôn*; Goth. *wandjan* = OHG. *wenden*, *wandôn*.

The natural conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that in OHG. the  $\delta$ -tendency in the  $\hat{e}$ -conjugation cannot be explained on the ground of likeness of form, for the two inflections are kept quite distinct; while the condition of the  $j$ -class shows that we must look upon this interchange of inflection, not as a characteristic of the  $\hat{e}$ -class, but of the OHG. weak-verb system. In view, however, of the fact that nearly every verb in AgS. and OS. originally of the *ai*-inflection has passed into the  $\delta$ -class, may it not be possible to extend our view still further, and to look upon the  $\delta$ -tendency as a characteristic neither of OHG. nor of AgS. independently, but of Prim. West Germanic? In OHG. such a tendency would be checked by the development of the  $\hat{e}$ -class in that dialect. In AgS., on the other hand, as in ON., the  $\delta$ -class became all-important, and practically absorbed the third class.

It is not necessary to suppose that the original *ai*-verbs that have been preserved in AgS. in the  $\delta$ -class had an earlier inflection like that of *habban*, *libban*, etc., any more than that Norse *hata*, *hataði*; *skamma*, *skammaði*, etc., were developed from the Norse *ai*-inflection. That certain of the verbs did know such a development, however, *licde*, *murnde*, *swigde*, noted above, would seem to prove. The process of transition from the *ai*-class to the  $\delta$ - is exhibited by two AgS. verbs of the *habban* group, *libban*, *hycg(e)an* (Sievers' AgS. Gram. 415):—

Ind. pres. sg. 1, <i>libbe</i>	<i>lifge</i>	<i>hycge</i>	
<i>*lifast</i>	<i>leofast</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>hogast</i>	
<i>lifað</i>	<i>leofað</i>	<i>hogað</i>	
pl. <i>libbað</i>	<i>lifgað</i>	<i>hycg(e)að</i>	<i>hogiað</i> <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The forms *leofast*, *leofað* seem to me late formations, after the analogy of the  $\delta$ -inflection, for the breaking of *i* to *eo* argues a following *o*—or *a* from *o*. The AgS. *a* from original *ai* would produce no such effect upon the vowel. Hence the expected form would be *lifast*, but a confusion of *a* from *ai* with *a* from  $\delta$  has given rise to *leofast*.

<sup>2</sup> Dietrich, Zf DA. IX 216, points out that *hogian* does not appear until the time of Alfred, though *hogode* existed earlier. With Aelfric *hycg(e)an* has been abandoned; the regular  $\delta$ -inflection—*hogige*, *hogast*, *hogað*, *hogiað*, etc.—is used.

Opt. pres.	<i>libbe</i>	<i>lifge</i>	<i>hycge</i>	
Imperative sg.	* <i>lifa</i>	<i>liofo</i>	<i>hoga</i>	
	<i>libbað</i>	<i>lifgað</i>	<i>hycg(e)að</i>	<i>hogiað</i> ( <sup>Paul-</sup> ter)
Infinitive,	<i>libban</i>	<i>lifg(e)an</i>	<i>hycg(e)an</i>	
Part. pres.	<i>libbende</i>	<i>lifgende</i>	<i>hycgende</i>	
	<i>lifde</i>	LWS. <i>leofode</i>	<i>hogde</i>	<i>hogode</i>
Part. pret.	<i>ge-lifd</i>			<i>ge-hogod</i>

But this AgS. treatment of *libban*, *hycg(e)an* is comparatively late, and cannot be considered typical of the earlier development. The process of change from *libban* to *lifgan* is made under purely AgS. conditions, in accordance with AgS. phonetic laws. But the earlier development, which must have been made in common with Old Saxon, cannot have been the same in character, nor can it receive the same explanation.

Sievers<sup>1</sup> finds an explanation for the passage of primitive *ai*-verbs into the *ð*-class in a Prim. Teut. relation between the two classes. The *ð*-inflection, Sievers maintains, goes back to prim. *ð-jð*, the *ai*-inflection to prim. *ð-jo*. "Von den langsilbigen aus muss wohl die berührung mit der *ð*-klasse im sächsisch-friesisch-englischen ausgegangen sein. Hier war der grundtypus, z. b. *salbðjð*, *salbðjizi*. . . . Standen sich nun z. b. ein *airðjð*, *airaiz* (= AgS. *āriu*, *āras*) und *salbðjð*, *salbðz* (= AgS. *sealfiu*, *sealfas*) zur seite, so konnten sie leicht einander assimiliert werden, als das mittlere *-ð-* der letzteren anfang gekürzt zu werden." The weakness in the argument is that one theory rests upon another still unproved and of doubtful validity. If it could be proved that the conj. in *-ai-* points to primitive *-ðjo-*, it would, it is true, be easy to understand the relation between the *ai*- and the *ð*-conjugations.

Another attempt to explain the relation between the second and third weak conjugations has been made by Bartholomae. He presupposes a prim. interchange of *-āi* and *-ēi* in the *ai*-conj. itself. "Es genügt mir," says Bartholomae,<sup>2</sup> "dargetan zu haben, dass für das gotische *habaiþ* ein ursprachliches aoristpraesens \**khabhēiti* vorausgesetzt werden muss. War aber ein solches vorhanden, so ist bei dem sonstigen zusammengehen der *ē*- und *ā*-konjugation auch die existenz einer gleichartig-gebildeten praesensform auf *-āiti* von vornherein sehr wahrscheinlich. . . . Goth. *-aiþ* kann ebensowohl auf idg. *-āiti* als auf *-ēiti* beruhen." The argument is far from convincing. If *-ēi-* and *āi-*, *ā-* and *ē-*

<sup>1</sup> PBB. VIII 90-94.

<sup>2</sup> Altind. *āsiṣ*, etc., p. 152.

did fall together in Prim. Teut., it is difficult to see how the *ai*- and *ð*-conjugations came to have an independent existence in Teutonic.

With regard, then, to the relation between the second and third conjugations, the matter stands thus: a general tendency toward *ð*-forms, seen not only in Anglo- and Old Saxon, but in Norse and OHG., seems to point to an early affinity between the two conjugations. It is not impossible, however, that the *ð*-tendency of OHG., like that of ON., finds its explanation in dialectic conditions. If there was an original phonetic relation between the two classes, no satisfactory explanation of that relation has yet been offered.

A review of the dialectic conditions of the *ai*-verb cannot be closed without noticing the mixed *ð*- and *j*-inflection of Old Saxon. Many of the original *ai*-verbs appear thus: *mornian*, *mornon*; *thagian*, *thagon*; *tholon*, *tholian*; *wonon*, *wonian*. That *thagian* is not a true *j*-verb is evident from the absence of umlaut. The explanation of the form is seen in the intermediate stage of *tholon*, i. e. *tholoian*. As *tholian* is developed from *tholon* through *tholoian*, so is *thagian* from *thagon*, \**thagoian*, *mornian* from *mornon* through *mornoian*. The *j*-, therefore, comes not from the *ai*-conjugation, but is the result of a peculiar Old Saxon treatment of the *ð*-class.<sup>1</sup>

## PART II.

### Concerning the Prim. Teut. Inflection of Verbs of the Third Weak Class.

The problem for discussion is represented in—

(a) Goth. <i>haba</i>	AgS. <i>hæbbe</i>	<i>sæge</i>	<i>hycge</i>	OS. <i>hebbiu</i>	<i>seggio</i>
<i>habais</i>	<i>hafast</i>	<i>sagast</i>	<i>hogast</i>	<i>habas, -es</i>	<i>sagis</i> (Cott. regis.)
<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>hafað</i>	<i>sagað</i>	<i>hogað</i>	<i>habad, -ed</i>	<i>sagad</i>
(b) Goth. <i>habaida</i>	OHG. <i>habêta</i>	OS. <i>habda</i>	ON. <i>hafði</i>	AgS. <i>hæfde</i>	

<sup>1</sup> The original *ai*-verbs appearing in OS. with mixed *j*- and *ð*-treatment are: *folgon*, *folgoian*, pres. pl. 3 *folgod* 3632, *folgoiad* 2429; *fragon*, *fragoian* (Cott.) 5412; *halon*, *haloian* (Cott. 2574); *mornon*, pres. 3 pl. *morniat* (Cott. 4730), imp. 2 pl. *mornot* 1665, part. pres. *mornondi* 721, conj. pres. sg. 3 *bimorni* (Mon.), *bemurnie* (Cott.) 1870 (no other forms of the verb occur); *trālon*, *truðian*, *j*-form only inf. 5946, 2943, also inf. *trālon* 285, occurs elsewhere only in pret. *trāoda*; *thagon*, only in pret. *thagoda*, *thagian* only in *thagiand*, Cott. 2576; *tholon*, *tholoian*, *tholian* (*tholon* C.) 3017, *tholoian* 4185, *tholoian* (*tholian* C.) 5218, conj. pres. sg. 3 *tholoie*, imp. pl. 1 *tholoian* Cott., also inf. *getholoiean* Mon., *githolon* Cott. 2136, pret. only *getholoda*; *wonon*, once *wonian*, inf. *wita im wonian mid* 3996 Cott.

The general opinion of scholars to-day is that we must infer for the Prim. Teut. *ai*-inflection a present having an interchange of *j*- and *ai*-forms and a preterit without connecting vowel. Mahlow, Sievers, Kögel unite in declaring the inflection of Anglo-Saxon of greater antiquity than that of Gothic. Still, it seems to me, on reviewing the whole line of argument, that there are many weak points in the proof; that the view has been accepted upon evidence too slight, without due attention to the possibility of another explanation. The general condition of Gothic is so much older than that of any of the other Teutonic dialects, that, in case of a variance in form among the dialects, the supposition must always be in favor of the antiquity of the Gothic until the varying form has been proved unquestionably the older.

But this question is only part of a larger one with regard to the original presence of *-j-* in the present of the three weak conjugations. Scholars who find the original *ai*-inflection in the Saxon dialects, look there too for the original *ô*-inflection. The interdependence of the two views is so close that one may hardly be considered without the other. To admit that *sealfie*, *sealfast*, *sealfað* are older than *salbô*, *salbôs*, *salbôþ* is to admit, indirectly, the antiquity of *hæbbe*, *hafast*, *hafað*. For, if Anglo-Saxon has kept in the second class an inflection nearer the original than that in any other dialect, it is natural to expect that it will have preserved in other respects the primitive weak verbal system. On the other hand, to look upon the *j*-forms in the second conjugation as of late introduction, resulting from the general tendency toward uniformity of inflection, is to throw suspicion at once upon the closely parallel inflection of the third class.

According to the common view of the *ô*-development, the original West Germanic forms were: ind. pres. \**salbôju*, \**salbôs*, \**salbôð*, \**salbôjam*, etc.; opt. sg. 3 \**salbôjai*, pl. 3 \**salbôjain*; imp. \**salbô*, inf. \**salbôjan*, pret. \**salbôða*. These West Germanic forms developed from Prim. Teut.: ind. \**salbôja*, \**salbôjis*, \**salbôjið*; imp. \**salbôi*, pret. \**salbôîða*. After *-j-* Prim. Teut. *-i-* was lost, *-j-* was vocalized, and so \**salbôis*, \**salbôîð* were formed. Finally, by the contraction of *ôî* to *ô*, there arose regularly—

Goth.	<i>salbôs</i>	<i>salbôþ</i>	<i>salbô</i>	<i>salbôða</i>
OHG.	<i>salbôs</i>	<i>salbôt</i>	<i>salbô</i>	<i>salbôða</i>
OS.	<i>talos</i>	<i>taloth</i>	<i>talo</i>	<i>taloda</i>
AgS.	<i>sealfast</i>	<i>sealfað</i>	<i>sealfa</i>	<i>sealfoda</i>
ON.	<i>kallar</i>		<i>kalla</i>	<i>kallaða</i>

—(Mahl., Die lang. Voc. 42 sq.)



Mahlow's whole theory stands or falls with that of the contraction of *ði* to *ð* in Teutonic. Unfortunately, the assumption of such a development has slender support.<sup>1</sup> For Prim. Aryan *ði* we should expect *ai* in Gothic.

Streitberg (Die german. Comp. auf *ðz*, p. 6), while denying the possibility of deducing *ð* from *ði*, still considers the Anglo- and Old Saxon *j*-forms primitive. His position is thus stated: "Es lässt sich nicht absehen, warum wir gezwungen sein sollten, ein got. *salbð*, *salbðs* um jeden preis auf vorhistorisches \**salbðjð*, \**salbðjis* u. s. w. zurückzuführen, es also einem litauischen *pasakoju* gleichzusetzen; warum es nicht vielmehr ebensowohl erlaubt sein sollte, die genannten formen aus einem athematischen paradigma herzuleiten, sie also mit litauischem *kybau*, *kybome*, *kyboti* zu vergleichen. Diese letztere zusammenstellung gewinnt noch durch den umstand erhöhte wahrscheinlichkeit, dass wir z. b. auf ags. boden das paradigma der verba auf *ðjð*, *-ðjizi*<sup>2</sup> inversehrt erhalten haben. Warum sollten nun beide flexionstypen nicht im urgermanischen ebensogut neben einander bestanden haben wie im lit.: Lit. *pasakoju* : AgS. *sealfie* = Lit. *kybau* : G. *salbð*?"

Now, what is the evidence to be adduced for presupposing in Prim. Teut. such a double conjugation? Outside of the Saxon dialects, not a trace of *j*-formation is to be found, save in the optative of the Alemannian dialect (Weinhold, Alem. Gram. 368 sq.), where the regular ending is *-ðes*, *-ðe*. That these are the endings of the *j*-inflection is undeniable; still, it seems extremely improbable that a single tense in a single dialect should have preserved a primitive ending found nowhere else in Old High German and absent from Gothic. The forms, it seems to me, find ready explanation in an effort to differentiate the optative from the present indicative—partly, perhaps, in an effort toward the general equalization of endings. The present opt. endings *-es*, *-e* belong not only to weak *j*-verbs, but to all strong verbs as well. The Alemannian dialect has simply chosen to consider *e*, *-ēs*, *e* the general optative endings, irrespective of class-stem.

On the ground, then, of Anglo- and Old Saxon alone, we must accept the *ðj*-forms as original. Now, in Old Saxon, which in this

<sup>1</sup> See Johansson, De deriv. contr. 182: "Nullum aliud eiusmodi mutationis exemplum ostentum est. . . . Cur non, si *ði* > *ai*, *ði* > *ði*?"

<sup>2</sup> Streitberg (22) holds that *sealfast*, *sealfað* = Prim. WG. \**sa.baiþ*, \**salbais* = Prim. Teut. \**salbðjizi*, \**salbðjiði*. Thus Str. explains the likeness in form between *sealfast*, *sealfað* and *hafast*, *hafað*.

respect, as in many others, is in an intermediate condition between OHG. and AgS., shows a fully developed  $\delta$ -inflection in all respects like the Gothic. But at the same time, every  $\delta$ -verb may assume this inflection: inf. *scaw-o-jan*; ind. prs. *scaw-on*, *scaw-os*, *scaw-od*; pl. *scaw-o-jad*; opt. *scaw-o-ja*, *scaw-o-jas*, *scaw-o-ja*, i. e. wherever *-ja-* appears in the inflection of the first class, it may be inserted after the *o*. Further, the *-o-* may be lost, and we have as the result, apparently, a verb of the first class, e. g. *thagian*, *thagon*; *tholon*, *tholian*, *tholoian* noted above (p. 439).<sup>1</sup>

Such forms as *thagoian*, *tholoian*, *wakoian*, etc., make upon one, it seems to me, as little the impression of originality as do Goth. *hausjan*, *hausjōn*, *beistjan*, *beistjōn*. Furthermore, the instability of the development seen in *tholoian*, *tholian*; *lathoian*, *lathian* would seem to indicate a late dialectic growth. It would be natural to expect that a dialect which had retained with such remarkable tenacity the ancient inflection should present it in some consistent form.

In *thagian*, *tholian* is found the connecting link between the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon  $\delta$ -inflection. The tendency in Old Saxon to *j*-forms, which are but occasional usurpers of a still complete  $\delta$ -conjugation, has in AgS. destroyed the older condition. The present system in the AgS. second conjugation, aside from the lack of umlaut, differs from that of the first only in the second and third persons sg. of the ind. and in the imper. sing.

But if the condition of the  $\delta$ -class in AgS. shows only a further development of that found in Old Saxon, we should expect to find, at least in the older AgS. dialects, traces of a pure  $\delta$ -conjugation. Such traces are seen in the North. endings: sg. pres. ind. sg. 1, *-a*, pl. *-að*; part. pres. *-ande*. Instances of the intermediate condition seen in Old Saxon are not uncommon, e. g. North. inf. in *-ogia*, *-age*, *-ege*, pres. ind. pl. in *-ageð*, *-egeð*, etc. These examples are important, for they indicate that AgS., like OS., once possessed a pure  $\delta$ -conj. Later the *-j-* of the first class was introduced. The characteristic ending of the second stem was at first retained with the *-j-*, but was finally given up altogether.

The mixed  $\delta$ -inflection of AgS. and OS. can hardly be considered original, in face of the evidence for a formerly universal pure  $\delta$ -conjugation. It is far easier to understand the late intro-

<sup>1</sup> Same remark found in Mahlow, *Die langen Voc.* 43.

duction of *j*-forms within the conj. than to see how a dialect so far from original in its general condition as AgS. should have retained a primitive conjugation lost entirely in Goth., in OHG. and in ON.

Furthermore, it seems unnecessary to presuppose for Prim. Teut. two conjugations, in order to account for the AgS. *-j-*. The argument for the two prim. *ð*-verbs is based mainly upon the conditions of the class in Lithuanian. Streitberg shows the parallelism between Teut. and Lithuanian in the form of a proportion. Lit. *pasakoju* : AgS. *sealfie* = Lit. *kybau* : Goth. *salbð*. But, unfortunately, Lithuanian is exceedingly untrustworthy in this respect. To quote a remark of Bremer's<sup>1</sup> on the *-j-* in the Lith. weak classes: "The *j*-formations are so numerous, in comparison with the other languages, that we may hardly avoid the conclusion that the *j*-inflection has overstepped its original limits, and has come to include many verbs not originally belonging there. Not only numberless derived verbs have a *-j-* in the present, it is found also in the present of primary verbs. The primary verbs in *-uti* furnish evidence that the process of *j*-formation has been carried on within the historical period." Lith., then, in respect to the extension of the *j*-class, is as unoriginal as are the Saxon dialects.<sup>2</sup>

In considering the original *ai*-inflection of the present, the general course of the argument is much the same as that just followed with the *ð*-inflection. The AgS. *ai*-conjugation, like the *-ð-*, has *-j-* wherever there is *-j-* in the first class. As in the former case, AgS. and O. Sax. furnish the main evidence for an interchange of *-j-* and *ai-* in the original inflection. But here, however, O. Sax. throws no direct light upon the possible process of development within the conjugation.

<sup>1</sup> PBB. XI 58 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Johansson, De deriv. Verb. contr. 201, gives the following explanation of the *ð*-development, to satisfy the conditions of Latin and Teut.: "Erant enim 1) verba *-āio* e stirpibus in longas vocales proficiscentia sive nominalibus, ut *curā-re*, sive 'verbalibus,' ut *domā-re*; 2) praesentia aoristica nullo suffixi derivationis adhibito ab ipsis stirpibus in longas vocales desinentibus ducta, sive temporibus ieu. orta sunt, sive postea ex aoristis in praesentia sunt mutata. Ad utramque classem eadem respondebat stirps ad temp. non-praes. fingenda usurpata; atque hac similitudine mota praesentia *i* suffixo formata, si quae erant I conjugationis ad analogiam praesentium aoristicorum mutata sunt. . . . Simile quiddam in germanicis dialectis occurrit; atque, ut jam dixi, verborum *salbōn* eandem fuisse rationem puto: *amo, amās, amat* = *salbð, salbðs, salbþp*."

Again, Lithuanian is quoted in support of the argument for an original *j*- in the third weak inflection. In (O. Bulg.) *sěžda* (= *\*sedja*), *sědisi* beside *sěděchŭ*, *sěděti*: (Lith.) *sėdzu* (= *\*sėdju*), *sėdi* beside *sėdėjau*, *sėdėsiu* show, it is argued, the thematic and athematic conjugations which combined to form the inflection of Goth. *haban*, *liban*, etc. But, whatever should be concluded from these data about the verb *\*sėdja* in Teut.-Slavic, it is difficult to see what bearing the result would have upon the question of the original *ai*-inflection. Teut. *\*sitjan* is a strong verb like *\*bidjan*, *\*ligjan*, etc., without a trace of relation with the Teut. *ai*-class.<sup>1</sup> The relation of L. *sedeo* to Teut. *\*sitjan* cannot be that of Lat. *habeo* to Teut. *haban*.

What evidence may be found within Teutonic for an interchanging *ai*- and *j*-inflection, outside, of course, of Anglo- and Old Saxon? Mahlow sees in *habēe* (late *habēie*) of the Alemanian (Weinhold, 368 sq.), as in the case of parallel *salbō(g)e*, a trace of the old *j*-inflection. But in the *ē*-conj., as in the *ō*-, these forms may be explained as a comparatively late attempt at differentiation. Further *j*-forms in OHG. are sg. 2 *hebis*, 3 *hebit*; *segis*, *segit*; *libis*, *libit*, but never *\*hebiu*. The fact that *j*-formations appear just where they are not expected, while there is no trace of them where they should occur, is evidence that in OHG. at least a present inflection like that of AgS. never existed.

Of far more importance in the discussion are the *j*-forms in ON. inflection of *hafa* (pres. *hef*, *hefe*, *heft*), *segja* and *pegja*. Says Johansson (De deriv. Verbis, 183): "Ac ipsa isl. flexio *hefe*, *hef*, *sege*, *seg*, *pege* demonstrare videtur *\*habjō*, *\*sagjō*, *\*pagjō* quarandum formarum propria esse. . . . Itaque nulla alia explicandi ratio esse videtur, quam variationem iam ieu. formarum sumere *\*khab.iō* et *\*khabhai.mi*." Sievers (PBB. VIII 93), by an ingenious method of comparison, arrives at a fixed inflection for Norse, showing the ancient interchange of forms:

	Inf. <i>*hefja</i> , <i>hafa</i>	<i>segja</i>	<i>pegja</i>
Pres. ind. sg. 1,	<i>hef</i> , <i>hefi</i>	<i>seg</i> , <i>segi</i>	<i>*peg</i> , <i>pegi</i>
2 and 3,	<i>*hafir</i> , <i>hefr</i>	<i>*sagir</i> , <i>segr</i>	<i>*pagir</i> , <i>pegir</i>

<sup>1</sup> Latin *sedeo* does not seem to me to be the same at all as Lith. *\*sėdja*, but the latter is on a line with Teut. *\*sitjan*, Greek *ἕζομαι*. If so, the proof of Lith. for Latin mixture of thematic and athematic conj. has no force. Why not simply identify the *e* of Lat. *habeo*, *habēs*, *habet* with the *η* of the Aiolian inflection *φιλημι*, *φιλης*, *φιληη*?



pl. 1, * <i>hefjom</i> , <i>hofom</i>	<i>segjom</i>	<i>pegjom</i>
2, <i>hafið</i>	* <i>sagið</i>	* <i>pagið</i> , <i>pegið</i>
3, * <i>hefja</i> , <i>hafa</i>	<i>segja</i>	<i>pegja</i>
Opt. 1, * <i>hefja</i> , <i>hafa</i>	<i>segja</i>	<i>pegja</i>
2 and 3, * <i>hefir</i> , <i>hafir</i>	<i>segir</i>	<i>pegir</i>

The weakness in Sievers' method is that, although it is possible, by careful arrangement, to form a model inflection out of the material at hand, there is no evidence that such an inflection ever existed. If it did, why have we not \**hefja*? If there was originally *hef*, \**hafir* in the present, how shall we explain the consistent *j*-inflection in the sing. of the three verbs? Assuming the original Norse inflection to be \**hefja*, *hef*, \**hafir*, pl. \**hefjom*, *hafið*, \**hefja*, is there any explanation for the fully developed regular inflection of Norse, which is in every respect the same as that of the Goth., except in the 1 sg. pres. ind.? It is impossible to see how Norse *hafa* should have developed from \**hefja*, *vaka* from \**vekja*, etc. Recognizing the impossibility of such a development, Johansson resorts again to the supposition of two original conjugations. The supposition makes the problem assume a form apparently simple. But it still remains to be explained how two independent Prim. Teut. conjugations should have developed as we find them in the dialects. Why does only the one appear in Goth. and OHG., while in the Saxon dialects the two are preserved in a curious mixed conjugation, and, finally, in ON. alone the two are kept independent?

It seems to me much simpler and more natural to consider the Norse *j*-forms a late development, after the analogy of the *j*-class. They may have arisen from the same cause as did the parallel forms in Anglo- and Old Saxon—as will be noticed later in the discussion—but, at the same time, they must be considered an independent development. The forms *segja*, *pegja* are late. Original \**sagjan*, \**pagjan* should be in ON. *seggja*, *peggja* (Wimmer, Altnord. Gram. 23). Pres. ind. sg. 1 should be \**segg* (as *hygg* (*hyggjan*), *legg* (*leggjan*), etc.

Turning now to the condition of Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon, one of the most striking characteristics of the *ai*-inflection in both those dialects is the instability of umlaut. The Heliand shows the following inconsistencies in the inflection of *hebbian*: inf. *hebbian*, l. 134, 169, 373, 443, 1013, 1254, 1328, 1666, 2064, 2529, 2824, 2893, 4521, 5297 (Cott.), 5353, 5364, 5618; *habbian*, 3224, 3573.



3863; ind. prs. sg. 1 *hebbiu* (*habbiu* does not occur); pl. *hebbead*, 1315, 1338, 1740, 5354; *habbiad*, 2990, 2991, 3004, 3159, 3244, 3705; imp. pl. *hebbiad*, 405, 943, 1877, 1886, 4787; *habbiad*, 4649, 4655; opt. sg. *hebbea*, *hebbie*; pl. *hebbian* (never *habbea*, *habbian*). The inflection of *seggian* shows no forms without umlaut where umlaut is expected.

No dialect of AgS. gives *habban* with umlaut, though umlaut forms do occur occasionally in other parts of the verb, e. g. *hebbe*, opt. sg., quoted by Sievers (PBB. VIII 92) from the Durham Book (Lindisfarne Gospels). Still, it would be unfair to ascribe such a form to North. as a regular occurrence, for even in that MS the common form is *hæbbe*. Sievers, again, gives for *sæcg(e)an* a complete inflection with umlaut *seggenne*, *seccende*, *secgu*, *secgað*, etc.; but the irregularity in this respect is everywhere noticeable in AgS. In the Rushworth and Lindisfarne MSS, for instance, inf. *secgan* is found, but most commonly *sæcge*, *sæcgað* (R. *secgað* and *sæcgað*) occur.

This irregularity in use of umlaut is very strong evidence that the Anglo-Saxon *j*-forms are of comparatively late development; and, adding this to the evidence furnished by the other dialects, I am unable, for myself, to avoid the conclusion that, whatever may have been the actual inflection of the present in the original *ai*-conjugation, it at least did not contain an interchange of *j*- and *ai*-forms.

If we reject the AgS. as the original inflection, the choice then lies between Goth. *haba*, *habam*, *haband* and OHG. *habē-m*, *habēm-es*, *habēnt*. ON. *trúe*, *-i* supports OHG.; the plural, however, is the same in form as the Goth. But ON. plural is of no actual weight in the argument, since that dialect has no longer any distinction between pres. pl. endings of the strong and weak conj. Still, these OHG. forms in the sg. and pl., and Norse sg., may be readily explained as the result of a natural adoption of *ai* for the characteristic stem. The tendency in development is, of course, always a tendency toward uniformity of inflection. On the other hand, the strong forms of the Goth. are inexplicable, save as remnants of an older condition. AgS. and Old Saxon point to a former interchange of endings within the *tepsé*, although the character of the interchange has been modified in accordance with the development of the whole weak verbal system in those dialects.

The Northumbrian *hafu*, *sagu*, commonly considered new formations, impress me as more probably remnants of the original inflection. At least, they hardly admit another explanation. It is improbable that Anglo-Saxon, with its predilection for *j*-forms—as has been seen in the condition of the *ð*-inflection—should displace an already fixed *hæbbe* by a strong form quite out of keeping with the rest of the conj. From the likeness of *hafast* and *sealfast*, such a new formation as *\*hafge*—like *lifge* instead of *libbe*, from *\*lifast*, *leofast*—might be conceivable; but for *hafu*, *sagu* there is no such explanation. They seem to me, without doubt, remnants of an older inflection.

Anglo-Saxon, then, through *hafu*, *sægo*, bears direct evidence to the antiquity of the Gothic condition of the present. With the natural tendency of language toward regularity of form, characteristic strong forms in the weak conjugations were not tolerated. Each dialect replaced the irregular forms by others, in accordance with the special dialectic tendencies.

Now, the question arises, Is there anything in the condition of the inflection itself to account for the *j*-formation in Anglo-Saxon, and is there any connection between the Anglo-Saxon *j*-forms and those of Norse and Old High German? On the ground of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse the explanation is simple: the point of agreement between the first and third classes is plainly in the preterit, which has the same form as that of the short-stemmed verbs of the *j*-class. Do not facts justify our assigning the same explanation to the OHG. *hebis*, *hebit*; *segis*, *segit*; *libis*, *libit*; *libita*, *hebila*? The preterit *segita* bears apparently the same relation to *\*sagta* and *libita* to *\*lipta* that *hapta* bears to *hebila*. Abundant evidence for such treatment of the pret. is found in the verbs of the first class, e. g. *zalta* : *zelita*, *ratta* : *retita*, *scutta* : *scutita*, *frewita* : *frouwita* (see Braune, Ahd. Gram. 356, 368, anm. 2).

Such a view of the common development of *j*-forms in the *ai*-inflection is conditioned by the antiquity of the Norse and AgS. short preterit. This brings us to the second important point in the discussion of the original inflection; What was the original form of the preterit?<sup>1</sup> Here Norse and West Germanic seem undoubtedly older than Gothic. Old Norse *sagði*, *hafði*, *lifði*, *hugði*; OHG. *\*sagta* (*segita*), *hapta* (*hebila*), *\*lipta* (*libita*), *hocta*; AgS. *sægde*, *hæfde*, *lifde*, *hogde*, cannot be explained as new

<sup>1</sup> Möller, PBB. VII 747 sq.; Sievers, VIII 90 sq.; Kögel, IX 519 sq.

formations; nor could they have been developed by contraction from *\*libaida*, *\*sagaida*, *\*hugaida*, *\*habaida*. Goth. *gahugds* gives testimony for an original short pret. OHG. *dult* (OS. *githuld*, AgS. *geðyld*) shows an old pret. to Goth. *pulan*, *\*pulda* = ON. *polda* (Möller, PBB. VII 474; Johansson, De deriv. verb. 183).

As Möller (Kunþa und das *t*-Praet., PBB. VII) was the first to point out, there is a serious difficulty in the way of considering *ga-hugds*, *hæfde*, *sagde*, *lifde* original—and that difficulty lies in the consonant combinations. Why not *\*hohta*, *\*sahta*, *\*hafta*, as in Goth. *mahta*, *paurfta*, etc.? It is no longer possible to escape the difficulty, as Paul does (Das schwache Praet., PBB. VII 136), by presupposing for the weak verbs a preterit in *-ða*. Möller on the negative side, Prof. Collitz<sup>1</sup> on the positive side, have made the continuance of such a supposition impossible. At the same time, Möller's proposed explanation fails to meet the present difficulty. His theory is based upon the supposition of a pre-Teut. present stem in *ō-jō-*, Prim. Teut. *a-jō-*, pret. *-a-da*; *\*habada*, *\*hugada*, etc. From *\*habada* Möller gets to *habda* by means of a Prim. Teut. law regarding the treatment of *-a-* in middle syllables, viz. "Urgerm. *a* in der zweiten von zwei unbe-tonten kurzen silben schwindet vor folgender hochbetonter silbe, die mit einfachem verschluss- oder reibelaut anlautet." The loss of the *a*, then, must have taken place before the Teutonic change of accent. The objections to the explanation are: (1) no other support is found for such a law; (2) *a* cannot be considered the stem vowel of this conj.; (3) if such a vowel did exist but was lost before the change of accent, why should the preterit not fall together with others originally without vowel—*mahta*, *paurfta*, *pāhta*, etc.—and receive then the same treatment in the Teutonic dialects?

Kögel (PBB. 516 sq.) proposes short *i* as the lost vowel, on the basis of the Latin perfect participle in *-itus* of the *ē*-conj., e. g. as *habēre* to *habitus*, so *\*habē-jan* to *\*habida*. Traces of Prim. Teut. condition he would see in *hebita*, *segita* of OHG. Johansson,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Origin of the Teut. Weak Preterit, Hermann Collitz: Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. III, 1887.

<sup>2</sup>Johansson, 183: "Ita Kögelo assentior, ut credam utramque formam ad temp. comm. germ. referendam esse: *-i-ta* = *taci-tus*, *habi-tus*, *moni-tus*: neque tamen ita, ut existimem *sagda* < *\*saghida* per syncopam germ. quandam (sg. *\*sagips*, pl. *sagde*), sed formas gemellas jam ieu. constituendas esse: *μενε-τός*, *σκελε-τός*, *taci-tus*, *moni-tus*, *doc-tus*, *cap-tus*, *δόκ-σω* sim."

who accepts Kögel's view partially, contends that *hapta* and *hebita* point to an original double formation of the pret. like Lat. *habitus* (*habeo*), *doc-tus* (*doceo*). But OHG. preservation of an original short middle vowel lost everywhere else in Teut. is contrary to the established laws of phonetic development. Moreover, *hapta*, *hebita*, as has been already seen, are readily explained by comparison with the *j*-preterit.

Further, Goth. *gahugds*, \**gapulds* (OHG. *dult*, OS. *gi-thuld*, AgS. *ge-ðyld*) show that the preterit of these verbs was formed originally without connecting vowel. Both these words are abstracts formed by original suffix *-ti*, and are remnants of a formation which goes back to Prim. Aryan. Though different in form and function from the part. in *-tō*, they are still of value in proving that the pret. of these verbs may have been formed originally without connecting vowel; for the suffix *-ti* of these feminine abstracts, the suffix *-tō* of the past part., and the ending *-tai* of the 3d sg. in the pret. middle are, as a rule, connected with the preceding verbal stem in the same manner. E. g. Skr. abstr. *bhṛ-ti-s*, ptc. *bhṛ-tā-s*; Gr. *ποίη-σι-s*, *ποίη-τό-s*, *πε-ποίη-ται*, *λέξις* (for \**λεκ-τι-s*), *λεκ-τό-s*, *λέ-λεκ-ται*, *λύ-σι-s*, *λυ-τό-s*, *λέ-λυ-ται*, etc.; Lat. *mor-s* (stem *mor-ti-*), ptc. *mor-tuus*, etc. *Ga-hug-d(i)-s*, formed originally without connecting vowel, renders at once possible original \**hug-d(a)-s*, preterit \**hugda*.

But even though we must admit that the oldest preterit of the third weak class was formed without a vowel between stem and ending, is it still impossible that already in Prim. Teut. a second enlarged preterit was formed, after the analogy of the other weak classes? OHG. *-ēta* = Goth. *-aida* would go to prove such a supposition, although their development may have taken place independently. Sievers (PBB. VIII 93) holds that the explanation of the passage of Old and Anglo-Saxon *ai*-verbs into the *ē*-class is to be found in two Prim. Teut. divisions of the *ai*-class, the one consisting of verbs with short stem syllable, the other of verbs with long stem syllable. Although the whole argument upon which he bases his theory is wrong, the theory itself may be considered from a different standpoint. If we might conceive of Prim. Teut. long-stemmed verbs with an *ai*-preterit, it would offer an easy solution for the AgS. and OS. tendency, for Prim. Teut. \**frāgaida* = Goth. \**frāgaida* = OHG. *frāgēta* = OS. *frāgada*. It would seem to account for the occasional interchange of *a* and *o* in the inf. and part. of the Old Saxon second weak

class. For the supposition of an original distinction of pret. according to the length of stem-syllable there can be no more than this said: no direct proof for the theory can be brought forward, but it furnishes a possible explanation for the variety of development seen in the third weak class in Teutonic.

## APPENDIX.

*List of Verbs in the Various Dialects from which the Collection of original ai-verbs was made.*

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
ainanan	âbandên			
aistan				æsta
	altên			
	angên			
	argên			
arman	armên	armon	earmian	
	arnên, -ôn		earnian	
	baldên		bealdian	
	barrên			
bauan	bûwan	bûan (buon C)	búwian	búa (st. v.)
	bazên <sup>1</sup>			
	bibên	bibon	bifian	bifa
	bittarên			
				<i>blaka</i> <sup>2</sup>
	bleichên		blácian	
	blintên <sup>3</sup>			
	plôdên, -ôn (blôd-)			
	bluotên			
	bogên <sup>4</sup>			
	borgên <sup>5</sup>		borgian	
	tagên		dagian	<i>brosa</i>
	touwên, -ôn			döggva
	tragên, -ôn <sup>6</sup>			
	truknên (druganên)			
	trunkanên			
	truobên <sup>7</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> OHG. *bazên* = Goth. *batnan*.

<sup>2</sup> Verbs in the Norse list that are italicized actually belong to the *ai*-class in Norse.

<sup>3</sup> = ON. *blindna*

<sup>4</sup> To st. v. *biugan*, *baug*.

<sup>5</sup> To st. v. *bërgan*, *barg*.

<sup>6</sup> To st. v. *tragen*, *truog*.

<sup>7</sup> = Goth. *drôbnan*.



Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
	trûrên			<i>drupa</i>
	tunchelên			<i>duga</i> <sup>1</sup>
	êrên <sup>2</sup>	êron	árian	
faian	fârên	fâron, -an		
fastan	fastên			
feinan	ferrên			
fijan	fiên		féogan	fjá
	finstarên			
	fiurên			
	flucchên			
	fluohhên, -ôn			<i>flaka</i>
	fôhên			
	folgên	folgon	folgian <sup>3</sup>	
	frâgên	frâgon		
	frostên			frosta
	fûlên, -ôn			<i>gd</i>
				<i>gana</i>
				<i>glotta</i>
				<i>gnapa</i>
				<i>göwa</i>
	garawên <sup>4</sup>	garuwian	gearwian	
	gi-nâdên	gi-nâthon		
	gebên	gebon	geofian	
	geilên			
geigan (faihu)	gingên			
	ginên (gîên)	ginon	ginian	
	grâwên			
	grôzên			
	grûên			<i>grufa</i>
	gruonên			

<sup>1</sup> N. *duga* to st. v. *duga*.<sup>2</sup> Also *êreôn*, *êrôn*, and *êran*. Given by Sievers (PBB. VIII 90) as one of the original *ê*-verbs. No clear proof.<sup>3</sup> AgS. *fylg(e)an*, ON. *fylgja*—one original form?<sup>4</sup> OHG. *garawjan* more common; AgS. *gearwan* also, and *gyrwan*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
haban	habên haftên haldên <sup>1</sup>	hebbian hafton	habban	<i>hafa</i>
hâhan	hangên halên, -ôn harên harmên	hangon halon	hangian	hanga
hatan	hazzên (-ôn) hlinên hlosên, -ôn hlûttarên hnêgên	haton hlinon	hatian hlinian  hluttrian	hata
*hóban (ga-)				<i>horfa</i> <sup>2</sup>
	hornên hriuwên, -ôn	hriwon		hryggva
hruskan (and-)	huggan hogên	huggian	hycg(e)an	<i>hvalfa</i>
weilan (ga-)	hwilôn hwizên isên italên		hwllian	
jiukan				<i>kaupa</i> <sup>3</sup>
	klagên klebên kraftên kuolên	klagon clibon	clifian	klifa <i>kligja</i> kœla
kunnan	kunnên labên, -ôn lachên <sup>4</sup> lâgên lamên langên leidên leidlihhên, -ôn	kunnon gi-lavon  lamon langon	cólian cunnian  langian	hlakka <i>lafa</i>
liban	lebên	libbjan	libban, lifgan	<i>lifa</i>
leikan	lihhên	licon	lician	líka

<sup>1</sup> *Haldên* to st. v. *haldan*.<sup>2</sup> *Horfa* to st. v. *hverfa*.<sup>3</sup> ON. *kaupa* = AgS. *céapian*, OHG. *koufôn*, Goth. *kaupôn*.<sup>4</sup> OHG. *lachên* to st. v. *hlahan*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
liugan (ga-)				<i>ljá</i>
*luban	lobên, -ôn liubên lokkên	lobon	lofian	lofa  lokka loka <i>loða</i>
	loskên loubên luogên lûzên magên <sup>1</sup> mâlên, -ôn <sup>2</sup> manên, -ôn <sup>3</sup>	mâlon		<i>mara</i>
maurnan	mêrên mornên meldên, -ôn metemên mihhilên	mornon meldon	murnan (?) meldian medmian miclian	morna
munan	far-monên			<i>ná</i>
	nahtên narrên nazzên			
nauan (bi-)	quëkkên rastên, -ôn reidên	quikon	cwician	
reiran	rêrên rifên richên rostên rozên	ripon	rárian rípian	
rûnan	rûnên (-jan) ruowên sagên	roton  seggian	rotian rúnian  sæcg(e)an secg(e)an	rýna  segja <i>sama</i>
	salawên serawên			

<sup>1</sup> *Magên* to st. v. *magan*.<sup>2</sup> *Mâlên* = Goth. *mǣljan*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lat. *monēre*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
	sêrên			
	sêwên			
	siechên, -ôn			
sifan				
silan				
	scadên, -ôn			
skaman	scamên, -ôn	scamon	sceamian	skamma
	scorrên			
	slaffên			skolla
slavan				skorta
	slêwên			
	smachên			
	smâhên			
	sôrên		séarian	
saurgan	sorgên	sorgon	sorgian	sorga
	sparên, -ôn		sparian	spara
	spilên, -ôn	spilon		
	spottên, -ôn			
	stabên, -ôn			
	starên		starian	stara
	starkên			
staurran	storrên			stúra
	stillên	stillon		
	stornên			
stopanan				
	stracchên			
	strangên			
	strûbên			
	stummên			
	suozen			
	sûrên			
swêran	swârên			
*sweipan				
	swebên			
	swîgên	swîgon	swîgian	
	zagên			
	zalên, -ôn	talon	talian	tala
				tolla
trauan	trûwên	trûon	trûwian	trúa
	zundên <sup>1</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> Zundên = Goth. *tundnan*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
þahan	dagên	thagon		þegja
þarban	darbên	tharbon	þearfian	þarfa
	diemuotên			
	dicchên			
þiwan	donên		þéowian	
	druoên		þrówian	
þulan	dolên	tholon, tholian	þolian	þola
	wachên	wakon	wacian	ugga
*wanan	wanôn		wanian	vaka
	warnên, -ôn			
	wartên	wardon	weardian	
weiþan	wihjan	wian		vígja
	welkên			
	warôn	waron		vara
	wernên, -ôn			
	wesanên <sup>1</sup>		weosnian	visna
witan	wizzên		witian	
wôkan				
wriskan				
wulan				
*wunan	wonên, -ôn	wonon	wunian	una

MARGUERITE SWEET.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a Teutonic weak verb in *-n-an*.



## II.—ON THE JUDAEO-GERMAN SPOKEN BY THE RUSSIAN JEWS.

### PART II.

#### *The Verb.*

The Jargon verb shows more than any other part of speech the thorough amalgamation of the three elements, Hebrew, Slavic, German. In its main features the verb is Germanic, but it has lost the imperfect tense and the subjunctive mood, at least as they are in German, and in its shades of meaning reproduces more correctly the Russian verb; besides, there are several ways of forming verbs from the Hebrew. The Jargon is richer in its verbs than any other of the European languages.

#### *Derivation of Verbs.*

The majority of verbs are derived from the German, and generally preserve the same meaning as in that language; but a number of them have a different signification, and many that have become obsolete or rare in German are in common use in the Jargon. Such verbs are *lernen* 'teach'; *folgen* 'do a favor,' as in *folg mir a gang* 'please go on an errand for me'; *zich rajben* 'move about,' as in *er hot zich geriben zwischen chazonim* 'he has moved in the society of cantors'; *kwelen* 'rejoice,' *iberfiren* 'spoil,' *zich gezegebenen* 'bid good-bye,' etc. A number of German verbs appear in a Slavic form, having added the suffix *ew* to the stem; these verbs generally get the meaning of the corresponding Slavic form, as *winschen* 'wish,' *winschewen* 'congratulate.' Under the influence of the Slavic a very large number of German verbs become middle, that is, they are conjugated with the reflexive *zich*.

Verbs from the Russian and Polish are treated like German verbs, as regards their conjugation; they generally keep the same meaning as in the Slavic, and are fully domesticated; such verbs are *zich farkatschen* (Rus. *zakatitj sebje*) 'roll up,' viz. the sleeves, *zukunftowen* (Rus. *kowatj*) 'weld,' *katewen* (Rus. *katitj*)

'strike,' *zich mutschen* (Rus. mutschitsa) 'vex oneself,' *brukewen* (Pol. brukować) 'pave,' *farschpilen* (Pol. zaszpić) 'pin,' *trejseln* (Rus. trasti) 'shake.'

A number of verbs are onomatopoetic or of foreign origin: *schmizern* 'chirp,' *terelajken* 'trill,' *bentschen* (benedicere) 'bless,' *zidlen* (?) 'call names,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

There are three ways in which verbs may be derived from Hebrew roots: 1. From nouns, by adding the usual ending *en* or *nen*, and sometimes German prefixes, for example: *zich cholemen* (H. חָלַם) 'dream,' *ganwenen* (H. גָּנַב) 'steal,' *opsamen* (T. פָּסַם) 'poison,' *cheschbenen* (H. חִשְׁבֵּן) 'calculate,' *pejgern* (H. פָּגַר) 'die like an animal.' 2. By attaching the auxiliary *zajn* to the participle of Hebrew verbs: *zich mejaschew* (H. מַיְשֵׁב) *zajn* 'consider,' *matriach* (T. מַטְרִיחַ) *zajn* 'ask a favor,' *mechabed* (H. מְכַבֵּד) *zajn* 'welcome,' *mekane* (H. מְקַנֵּא) *zajn* 'envy'; an adverbial form is sometimes used in the same way: *beköjach* (H. בְּכֹיחַ) *zajn* 'be able.' 3. Adjectives, nouns, sometimes participles, are used with *hoben*, *weren*, *machen* and similar verbs: *möjre* (H. מוֹרֵא) *hoben* 'be afraid,' *chasene* (H. חֹתֵנָה) *hoben* 'get married,' *chöjzek* (H. חֹזֵק) *machen* 'ridicule,' *poter* (H. פּוֹטֵר) *weren* 'get rid of.' These are real verbs, as many of them take the direct object.

The verbs are further changed in their meaning by special prefixes, all of German origin; many of them have, however, the strength of the corresponding Slavic ones, so that it is often easier to translate Jargon verbs into Russian and Polish than into German. The prefixes are separable or inseparable.

*The separable prefixes*, but little differing from the corresponding German ones, are *ous*, *aj*, *on*, *ouf*, *um*. For example: *oushalten* 'endure,' *ousarbajten* 'work out,' *zich ajnhallen* 'abstain,'

<sup>1</sup>Since writing this I have been preparing an Idiotikon of Slavo-Judaeo-German, and many etymologies given here as problematic have been precisely located. The most important fact so far discovered during my work is, that by far the greatest part of words of Slavic origin belong to the *White Russian* dialect. An investigation of registers and documents written in White Russian previous to the Lublin Union discloses to me the further fact that nearly all such words were introduced in Slavo-Judaeo-German previous to that Union. The Idiotikon will contain upwards of 100,000 quotations. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt for the reading of the proof-sheets of the first part of this article, and to Dr. I. M. Casanowicz for the reading of the second part and for valuable assistance in my work.

*zich ajnheren* 'listen attentively,' *onkuken* 'look at,' *onhejben* 'begin,' *onkwelen* 'rejoice fully,' *zich onfchapen* (Rus. *chapatj* 'grasp') 'startle,' *zich umkeren* 'turn back.' *Op* expresses accomplished action, as in *opschlarben* 'decay, die,' *opschiken* 'send away,' as *er hot im opgeschikt in chejder arajn* 'he sent him to school'; otherwise it has the same meaning as the German *ab*, as in *oplejkenen* (G. *ableugnen*) 'deny.' *Iber* corresponds more to the Russian *pere*, Polish *prze*: *ibernemen* 'imitate,' *iberchazern* 'repeat,' *iberzomen* 'fence off.'

All the above-mentioned prefixes may be strengthened by *ar* = G. *her*: *aropkumen* 'come down,' *aropnemen* 'take off,' *arouskrichen* 'crawl out,' *arousgeben* 'give out,' *arajnkumen* 'come in,' *arajnlozen* 'let in,' *aribergejn* 'go over,' *arouffiren* 'lead up,' *arumgejn* 'go around,' *arumtrogen* 'carry around.'

The following are also separable: *awek* = G. *weg* and *hin*, *durch* = G. *durch* and Rus. *pere*, *zunouf* = G. *zusammen*, *anider* = G. *nieder* and *hin*, *noch* = G. *nach*, *fanander* = G. *auseinander*, and rarely *for*: *zich awekzezen* 'to sit down' (for a long time), *zich aweklozen* 'to start suddenly,' *durchsforen* 'drive through,' *zich durchgejn* 'take a walk,' *zunoufklajben* 'gather together,' *zunoufskompanjen* 'make friends,' *zich aniderlejgen* 'lie down,' *nochmachen* 'imitate,' *zich fananderreden* 'get heated up in conversation,' *zich forschtelen* 'imagine.'

The inseparable prefixes are: *be*, *ge*, *far*, *der* = G. *er*, *ant* = G. *ent*. Examples: *zich bedingen* 'make an agreement,' *betrachten* 'look at,' *gefinen* 'find,' *gedenken* 'remember,' *zich glusten* 'have a desire,' *derheren* 'hear suddenly,' *derleben* 'live to see,' *antlöffen* 'run away.' *Far* has more the meaning of the Russian *za*, and expresses sudden action; it is most frequently met with with participles: *farwarfen* 'toss up' (the head), *farmachen* 'close, shut,' *farflamt* 'all aflame,' *fartracht* 'deep in thoughts,' *farchöjschecht* (H. *אשך*) 'blackened, worked down.' *Zu* when separable = G. *zu*: *zügejn* 'walk up to'; when inseparable = G. *zer*, and is sometimes written *ze*: *zugéjn* 'melt.'

There are two aspects in the Jargon: The imperfect, to which the majority of verbs belong, and which expresses continuous or unfinished action: *gejn* 'go,' *chapen* 'seize,' *cheschbenen* 'calculate'; the perfect aspect expresses sudden or completed action, and is formed from the imperfect aspect by conjugating the simple verbal noun *gej*, *chap*, *cheschben* with one of the three verbs *tun*, *geben*, *derlangen*. For example: *er derlangt a chap* 'he suddenly seizes,' *er wet geben a cheschben* 'he will quickly calculate.'

There are five moods: indicative, conditional, infinitive, imperative, and the participle; and four tenses: present, imperfect, perfect, future.

*Conjugation.*

The auxiliaries *hoben*, *zajn*, *weren* are conjugated as follows:

*Indicative.*

Present Tense.

<i>ich hob (ch'o)</i>	<i>ich bin</i>	<i>ich wer</i>
<i>du host</i>	<i>du bist</i>	<i>du werst (west)</i>
<i>er hot</i>	<i>er iz</i>	<i>er wert (wet)</i>
<i>mir hoben</i>	<i>mir zenen (zajnen)</i>	<i>mir weren</i>
<i>ir hot</i>	<i>ir zent (zajnt)</i>	<i>ir wert</i>
<i>zej hoben</i>	<i>zej zenen (zajnen)</i>	<i>zej weren</i>

Imperfect.

<i>ich fleg</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du flegst</i>	
<i>er fleg (flegt)</i>	
<i>mir flegen</i>	
<i>ir flegt</i>	
<i>zej flegen</i>	

Perfect.

<i>ich hob (ch'o) gehad</i>	<i>ich bin gewesen (gewén)</i>	<i>ich bin geworden</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.

Future.

<i>ich wel (ich el)</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du west (du est)</i>	
<i>er wet (er et)</i>	
<i>mir welen (mir elen)</i>	
<i>ir wet (ir et)</i>	
<i>zej welen (zej elen)</i>	

*Conditional.*

Present.—1st Form.

<i>ich zol</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du zolst</i>	
<i>er zol</i>	
<i>mir zolen</i>	
<i>ir zolt</i>	
<i>zej zolen</i>	

## 2d Form.

<i>ich wolt</i>	}	<i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du wolst</i>		
<i>er wolt</i>		
<i>mir wollen</i>		
<i>ir wolt</i>		
<i>zej wollen</i>		

## Past.—1st Form.

*ich zol hoben gehat, hoben gewén, hoben geworden.*  
etc., etc.

## 2d Form.

*ich wolt hoben gehat, hoben gewén, hoben geworden.*  
or *ich wolt gehat, gewén, geworden.*  
etc., etc.

## Infinitive.

*hoben                      zajn                      weren*

## Imperative.

<i>lomich hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>hob,</i>	<i>zaj, wer</i>
<i>loz er or zol er hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>lomir hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>hot,</i>	<i>zajt, wert</i>
<i>lozen zej or zolen zej hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>

## Participle.

Present,	<i>hobendig</i>	<i>zajendig</i>	<i>werendig</i>
Past,	<i>gehat</i>	<i>gewezen (gewén)</i>	<i>geworen</i>

The present indicative presents no great peculiarities. The imperfect has disappeared, and the combination *ich fleg hoben* 'solebam habere, habebam' has been substituted instead; this is by no means a casual combination, but a tense-form used very frequently in description.<sup>1</sup> The future is very peculiar, not only

<sup>1</sup> I cannot help quoting a long passage from Scholem Alejchem's (S. Rabinowitsch's) novel 'Jösele Solowéj' to illustrate the use of the imperfect tense; it will also serve as a sample of Jargon style: "In der zajt wen ale chejder-junglech weren befrajt noch halben tog, me farschtekt di poles un me lozt zich iber der shtot löjfen, schpringen, schpilen zich in ferdlech uchdöjme, fleg zich Jösele farklajben wajt, wajt ouf jener zajt bod, intern barg, un dort,



in that a form of the verb *welen* (cf. Eng. *will*, M. Greek *θαλω*) is used, but also in that the form is not the same as the present tense of *welen*; I am inclined to think that the second and third persons singular and the second person plural are forms of the verb *weren*. How and when the amalgamation of these two verb-forms took place I have not yet investigated. I have never met with a future perfect of the auxiliaries, but such a form as *ich wel hoben gehat* seems to me to be admissible.

There are two forms for the conditional, and their uses will be explained later; the first form of the past is rare; the form *ich zol hoben gewên* is strange, but a similar mixture of *hoben* with *gewên* we shall meet later. The second form consists in the present of the imperfect of *welen*—(this and *fleg* are the only German imperfects left in Jargon)—with the infinitive of the auxiliary. In the past *ich wolt hoben* is attached to the past participle of the auxiliary; this form is rare, and instead the past participle is placed directly after the imperfect of *welen*. This is due to Slavic influence, which will become more evident when I shall treat of the conjugation of the verbs.

zumerleb, zich zulêjgen oufn grinem gro3 mitn ponim arouf, betrachten Gots weltel mit ale zajne beschefenischlech, fun di grôjse fejglen wos schweben in himel arajn biz di klejne rôjste gepintelte žuklech, wos hejzen ouf chejderloschen 'Môjsche-rabejnu's ferdelech,' mit di breklech mureschkes wos krichen, borblen zich in 3amd trogendig un schlependig mit zich ganze schtiker gro3 oder schtroj un lôjfen mit dem schtark fartareramt zu zich in der nore arajn. Ligendig dort a3ôj fleg zich Jôjsele lib hoben ajnzuhoren in di ferschiedene kôjles un alerlej minim ge3angen fun di fejgelech wos zenen iber zajn kop geflôjgen on a schir. . . . Nit ejn mol fleg er zich durchschmuesen mit der kûkuschke wos hot zich gelozt heren fun dem grôjsen monastirske gorten; ôjch di iberige schpilfejgelech, kanarkelech, fleg Jôjsele a3ôj kunzig iberkrumen a3 im alejn i3 nischt gring gewên zu trefen welchs gingt er un welchs zej, nor ajn solowêjtschik hot Jôjsele beschumôjfen nischt gekont nochmachen." Chejderjunglech = schoolboys, poles (Rus. poly) = skirts of dress, uchdôjme (H. וְחִדְמָה) = and so forth, farklajben = betake oneself, bod = bath-house, zumerleb = all summer-day long, ponim (H. פְּנִים) = face, beschefenischlech = little creatures, gepintelte = dappled, žuklech (Rus. žuk) = little bugs, chejderloschen (H. לְשׁוֹן + חֵדֶר) = school-language, breklech = little bits, mureschkes (Rus. muraschki) = little ants, fartareramt = excited, nore (Rus. nora) = hole, kôjles (H. קוֹלִים) = voices, minim (H. מִיָּנִים) = kinds, on a schir (G. Schier?) = without end, durchschmuesen (H. שְׂכַחְתָּ?) = have a talk, kûkuschke (Rus. kukuschka) = cuckoo, monastirske (Rus.) = belonging to cloister, kanarkelech (Pol. kanarek) = little canaries, iberkrumen = imitate, solowejtschik (Rus. solowěj) = little nightingale, beschumôjfen (H. בְּשָׂאִים אֶפֶן) = by no means.

A past infinitive I have never seen, and the present with *zu* used substantively has almost the value of a future infinitive. The present participle corresponds to the Russian gerundive (djejepritschastije) and is a verbal adverb; by getting the proper endings it becomes an adjective.

The imperative renders exactly the meaning of the Russian *pustj* and the Polish *niech* imperatives; the first and third persons express a concession. *Lomich* is evidently a contraction of *loz mich*, and *lomir* of *lozen mir*; it is strange that in the first person singular the accusative should be used and elsewhere the nominative of the pronoun; some authors write  $\text{לֹמִיךְ}$  *lom ich*, but, I believe, without any good reason. By suffixing the Polish particle *že* in the following manner: *lomirže hoben*, *lozerže hoben*, etc., we get a precative form similar to the Polish in meaning.

The Jargon has more modal auxiliaries than the German; they are: *zolen* 'shall,' *kenen* 'can,' *muzen* 'must,' *welen* 'will,' *darfen*, *bedarfen* 'ought,' *megen* 'may,' *toren* 'be allowed'; their past participles are: *gezolt*, *gekent* (*gekont*), *gemuzt*, *gewolt*, *gedarft*, *bedarft*, *gemegt*, *getort*. They are conjugated like *hoben*. The present goes as follows: *ich muz*, *du must*, *er muz*, *mir muzen*, *ir must*, *zej muzen*. The other verbs are similarly conjugated, except *welen*, which has in the present *ich wil*, *du wilt*, etc. *Toren* is good Middle High German, and occurs as late as the sixteenth century; for example, in one of Paul Melissus Schede's songs:

"Teutschland (sags mit vergunst)  
Begabet ist mit mancher Kunst  
Derer sichs gar nit schemen thar."

Instead of *ich zol hoben gemuzt*, etc., which is rare, the Polish dialect uses *ich zol gewén muzen*, and for *ich wolt gemuzt* sometimes *ich wolt gewén muzen* is used; this is clearly an echo from the Polish form *gdybym ja był musiał*, and even the form *ich wolt gemuzt* is Slavic (cf. Rus. *jesliby ja mog*), where the participle and the verb 'to be' are used respectively in the formation of the conditional.

The other verbs present few difficulties in the conjugation. The present of *zogen* 'say' is *ich zog*, *du zogst*, *er zogt*, *mir zogen*, *ir zogt*, *zej zogen*; the other tenses are conjugated like the auxiliaries. The verbs *løjgen* (G. *taugen*) 'valere,' *geheren* 'belong' have in the third person sing. of the pres. tense *töjg* and *gehér*. *Geben* is irregular in the present: *ich gib*, *du gist*, *er git*,

*mir giben, ir git, zej giben*; so also *wisen* 'know': *ich wejs, du wejst, er wejst, mir wejsen, ir wejst, zej wejsen*. Reflexive, reciprocal and middle verbs are conjugated with the reflexive *zich*, which, as in Slavic, remains the same for all persons, except when special emphasis is expressed. As in German, a number of verbs are conjugated with *zajn*, but their number is somewhat larger; such verbs are *blajben* 'remain,' *schlejn* 'stand,' *foren* 'ride,' *gejn* 'go,' *gefelen* 'please,' *krichen* 'crawl,' *fligen* 'fly,' *zizen* 'sit,' *schlofen* 'sleep.' The past conditional of *schlejn*, for example, would be *ich zol hoben geschtanen* (rare) and *ich wolt geschtanen*; in Poland we hear *ich wolt gewén schlejn* and, even more Slavic in form, *ich wolt gewén geschtanen*. Very peculiar is the perfect of such verb-combinations as *mekane* (H. נאָפּ) *zajn* 'envy,' in that it is invariably formed with *hoben*: *ich hob mekane gewén*.

The passive voice is formed with *weren*, as in German. Ind. pres., *ich wer geschlogen*; imperf., *ich fleg weren geschlogen* (or *geschlogen weren*); perf., *ich bin geworden geschlogen*; fut., *ich wel weren geschlogen*; cond. pres., *ich zol weren geschlogen* and *ich wolt weren geschlogen*; cond. past, *ich zol gewén geschlogen weren* and *ich wolt geworden geschlogen* and *ich wolt gewén geschlogen weren* (or *geworen*); inf., *weren geschlogen*; imp., *lomich geschlogen weren*, etc. Passives with *zajn*, as in German, are rare.

Most past participles of verbs of German origin are formed as in German, observing the rules treated in the chapter on Phonology, for example: *bajsen gebisen* 'bite,' *bigen geböjgen* 'bend,' *beten gebeten* 'bid,' *blozen geblozen* 'blow,' *blajben gebliben* 'remain,' *brengen gebracht* 'bring,' *foren geforen* 'drive,' *fligen geflöjgen* 'fly,' *gejn gegangen* 'go,' *gisen gegosen* 'pour,' *hejben gehejben* 'raise,' *kumen gekumen* 'come,' *löjfen gelofen* 'run,' *ligen gelegen* 'lie,' *mesen gemosen* 'measure,' *nemen genumen* 'take,' *kwelen gekwolen* 'rejoice,' *rajben geriben* 'rub,' *schlofen geschlofen* 'sleep,' *schrajben geschriben* 'write,' *schrajen geschrigen* 'cry,' *schwajgen geschwigen* 'be silent,' *schweren geschworen* 'swear,' *schlejn geschtanen* 'stand,' *schlarben geschlorben* 'die,' *schlōjsen geschlōjsen* 'push,' *tun (ton) getun* 'do,' *warfen geworfen* 'throw,' *zwingen gezwungen* 'compel.' Many verbs that are irregular or of the old conjugation in German end in *t* in the Jargon: *baken gebakt* (also *gebaken*) 'bake,' *brenen gebrent* 'burn,' *gedenken gedenkt* 'remember,' *zich flajsen geflajst* 'exert one's self,' *glaj-*

*chen geglajcht* 'compare,' *kenen gekent* 'know,' *lozen gelozt* and *gelozen* 'let,' *melken gemelkt* 'milk.'

Verbs of Slavic or Hebrew origin get *t* in the participle, as *farkatschen farkatschet* 'roll up' (the sleeves), *mutschen gemutschet* 'vex,' *cheschbenen gecheschbent* 'figure.' *Ganwenen* 'steal' has *geganwet* and *dawnen* 'pray' has *gedawent*.

#### Adverbs.

Adverbs are derived mainly from German and Hebrew roots. Adverbs of place (motion is expressed by the suffix *a*): *arous* 'out'; *nischto* 'there is not,' for example: *kajn guter wind iz nischto* 'there is no good wind'; *inderhejm* (generally pronounced *indrejm*) 'at home'; *ahejm* 'home'; *fardn* (= Ger. vorhanden) 'in existence,' as in *es iz nischt fardn* 'there does not exist'; *fun forint* 'in front'; *arop* 'down'; *aher* 'thither'; *ergiz* 'somewhere'; *hi* 'here'; *fun derwajlens* 'from afar'; *umelum* (= Ger. um und um) 'everywhere'; *inwejnig* 'within,' etc.

Adverbs of time: *densmol* 'at that time'; *pluzling* or *pluzim* 'suddenly'; *farzajten* 'formerly'; *gich* 'quickly'; *azund* or *zund* (*izt* in Lithuania) 'now'; *schlendig* 'always'; *hejn hejn* (H. הֵן) 'at times, at others,' as in *hejn in hebrejisch hejn in žargón* 'at times in Hebrew, at others in Jargon'; *tomid* (H. תָּמִיד) 'always'; *kesejder* (H. קָסֶדֶר) 'in succession.'

Adverbs of manner generally end in *lich*, *isch* and *dig*: *beschajmperlich* (Ger. scheinbar?) 'evidently,' *lajtisch* 'gentlemanly,' *knapisch* 'hardly,' *umberachmónesdig* (H. רַחֲמָנִית) 'merciless.' Many adverbs of manner are formed from plural nouns by the addition of *wajz* (Ger. weise): *schureswajz* (Tal. שְׂוֹרֹת) 'by lines,' *pudenwajz* (Rus. pud) 'by the 40 pounds,' *porlechswajz* 'by pairs'; also by the addition of a preposition: *zubislechswajz* 'little by little.' *Kløjmerscht* and *kløjmperscht* (Tal. כְּלֹמֶר) 'so to say.'

Hebrew and Talmudic adverbs generally keep the original form: *bewade* and *awade* (Tal. וְדַאי) 'surely,' *bekizer* (Tal. בְּקִיצָה) 'in short,' *aderabe* (Tal. אֲדֵרְבָּה) 'on the contrary,' *mislome* (Tal. מִסְתָּמָה) 'perhaps, of course.'

Other adverbs are: *lejrech* (H. לְעֶרֶךְ) 'nearly'; (*ajn*) *emes* (H. אִמֶּת) 'for a fact'; *amér* 'rather,' as in *amér fregt a kasche* (Tal. מַשְׁיָה) 'why do you not rather ask a question'; *umzist* 'in vain'; *borfes* 'barefoot'; *fort* 'in spite of it,' as in *zej muzen zich doch fort ajnreden* 'they imagine in spite of it'; *chotsche* (Rus.

chotjá) 'at least'; *kimat* (H. כִּמַּט) 'scarcely'; *až* (Polish *aż*) 'almost'; *hendum pendum* 'helter-skelter'; *efscher* (Tal. אֶפְשֶׁר) 'perhaps'; *lemoschel* (H. לְמֹשֶׁל) 'for example.' *Mischtéjnsgezogt* is an expression of compassion like the German *leider*; the etymology of the word is hard to ascertain; perhaps it is a corruption of *nischt uns gezogt*, which in the South is pronounced *nischt ins gezogt* and would mean 'not in our case be it said'; a similar formula is frequently used when some misfortune is mentioned, as if to ward off the evil influence.

Under the head of adverbs mention must be made of the particles that form an important factor in Jargon style. The German particles *gor*, *doch*, *je* (Ger. *ja*), *den* are used in a slightly different sense. The Slavic *ot* (Rus. *wot*), *že*, *take* are of frequent occurrence. Examples: *a doktor ken amól gor zajn a kelbel* 'a doctor may sometimes indeed be a little calf,' *ot schtelt men im arajn zen zelnner zu hodewen* 'behold, they station ten soldiers in his house to take care of them.' *Take* may precede and follow the emphasized word: *Take beemes take wer iz er a zójns gewén?* 'Who, in reality, was he?' Several particles may be used together: *nor was den že?* 'what else could it be?' *zej hoben doch take je gemogt hallen fun der gemore* 'they surely ought to have observed the rulings of the Gemara.' The indefinite pronoun *epes* (Ger. *etwas*) is frequently only a particle: *do muz epes zajn a krezele* 'there must be some trouble there.' The Hebrew word *schum* (Tal. שוּם) is used as an expletive: *kajn schum mensch* 'not a man.'

#### Prepositions.

The most of the prepositions are of German origin, but their use is more in accord with the corresponding Slavic ones. All prepositions in the Jargon take the dative case after them. Examples: *ich hob geschlofen leben* (or *neben*) *zajn wigel* 'I slept near his cradle,' *Jiden hoben getanzt arum dem goldenem kalb* 'Jews danced around the golden calf,' *der mensch iz derschaffen geworen noch dem zejlem* (H. אֶלֶם) *fun Got* 'man was created in the image of God,' *zej zolen gut ton dem ger* (H. גֵּר) *wos wójnt zwischen zej* 'they ought to be good to the unbeliever who lives among them,' *di was hoben gelacht ous der libe* 'those who ridiculed love,' *wegen zajn zdoke* (H. צָדִיקָה) *geben erzejlt zich a zád majse* (H. מַעֲשֵׂה) 'the following story is told in regard to his giving alms.'



The following prepositions, of frequent occurrence and greatly differing in their use from the German ones, must be treated separately:—

*Fun* is used like the English *of*, where in German the genitive would stand: *in der schtot iz men derfun gewor geworen* 'they found that out in town.' It generally corresponds to the German *von* in the sense of *from* and *by*: *di friere chawejrim* (H. חברים) *hoben zich fun im derwajlert* 'his former friends were alienated from him,' *ousgemutschet* (Rus.) *fun der schwerer togarbajt* 'worn out by the heavy daily work,' *Chajim hot geleyent höjch fun a geschriben bichel* 'Chajim read aloud from a written book,' *Jöjsef iz farköjft geworen fun zajne brider* 'Joseph was sold by his brothers.' Sometimes it corresponds to the English *in*: *di uroken* (Rus. *uroki*) *zenen beschtanen fun schrajben jidisch* 'his lessons consisted in writing Hebrew.' After comparatives *fun* may be used instead of *wi*, precisely as in Russian the genitive is used there: *wos darf ich mer schtolz zajn funm oremán?* 'why should I be prouder than the poor man?'

The use of *ouf* will be seen from the following examples: *kejner hot zich ouf im nischt arumgekukt* 'nobody paid any attention to him,' *er iz nischt mekáne* (H. מקנה) *gewén ouf kajn rajchkajt* 'he did not envy his riches,' *mir hoben ouf zej a chöjw* (H. חוב) 'we have a bill against them,' *iz es meglich du zolst zajn ouf azöj fil karg?* 'is it possible that you are stingy to such a degree?' *ich wel dich konen oushelfen ouf dajn eller* 'I shall be able to assist you in your old age,' *ich muz horewen* (Pol.) *tog un nacht oufn trukenem schtikel bröjt* 'I must work day and night for a piece of dry bread,' *men ruft dos hep ouf zejer loschen* (H. לשון) 'they call it hep in their language,' *zej hoben im farbrent ouf köjl* 'they burned him to coal.'

*Mit* renders precisely the Russian *s* with the ablative or the ablative without a preposition: *jederer wos interesirt zich mit der žargonischer literatur* 'every one who is interested in Jargon literature,' *ale wajber hoben zich mit im gebentscht* 'all women said a benediction over him,' *er hot ongehejben zu firen a leben ful mit zores* (H. צרות) 'he began leading a life full of troubles,' *er hot zich frajndlich mit im gezeget* 'he bid him a friendly adieu,' *ich wil mich zuschejden mit majne chawejrim* (H. חברים) 'I shall part with all my friends,' *zurik mit etliche teg* 'a few days ago,' *winziger mit a chawer* 'a friend less,' *eller mit a jor zen* 'some ten years older.'

*Far* stands for the German *für* and *vor*: *er hot ongezogt farn töjt* 'he commanded them before his death,' *ot azöj hot Leje zich ousgeret dos harz far ir guten frajnd Nechame* 'thus did Lea open her heart to her good friend Naomi,' *zum sof* (H. סוף) *hot er gefunen far nejtig* 'finally he found it necessary.'

'Into' is expressed in Jargon by *in*—*arajn*: *zej hoben im gefirt jungerhejd in kejwer* (H. בקר) *arajn* 'they took him to his grave while he was still young,' *zi hot illichen gezogt dem emes* (H. אמית) *in ponim* (H. פנים) *arajn* 'she told the truth to everybody's face.'

There is only one Slavic preposition used in Jargon; namely, *wedlig* (Pol. *według*) 'according to': *zi zet ous jinger wedlig ire joren* 'she looks younger than her years.' Hebrew prepositions are of frequent occurrence: *achuz* or *chuz* (H. חוץ) 'besides,' *machmäs* (T. מחמת) 'on account of,' *beéjs* (H. בעת), *beschäs* (Tal. בשעת) 'during.'

#### Conjunctions.

By far the greatest number of conjunctions are of German origin; among these *az* occurs most frequently and has the greatest variety of meanings; it is the German 'dass, als, da, wenn': *er farschtejt nischt az dos umglik ken zajn* 'he does not understand that the misfortune may happen,' *az er iz schöjn gor der frumer* 'if he pretends to be pious.' *Az* enters into combinations with prepositions, thus changing them into conjunctions: *nochdem az zi hot zich arumgekukt* 'after she had looked around.'

*Wi* has the meaning of 'as, however': *wi du wejst* 'as you know,' *wi umgerecht der mensch iz* 'however wrong the man may be'; *wi* enters into combinations with a number of adverbs, as *wi bald köffen* 'if at all we buy,' *azöj wi zej hoben gedenkt zajn taten* 'since they remembered his father.' Other conjunctions are *nor*, *worum*, *zint*, *öjb*, *ejder*, *sajden*, *biz*: *nor wos macht men azöjne lajt far kol?* (H. קהל) 'but why do they choose such men to the congregation?' *worum di negidim* (H. נגידים) *zenen ejns mit kol* 'for the rich are one with the congregation,' *zint* (G. *seit*) *me nemt rekruten* 'from the time that men have been recruited,' *öjb* (G. *ob*) *zi firt zich nischt ordentlich* 'if she does not behave,' *ejder* (G. *ehe*, perhaps elliptic for *eh' der Zeit*) *ich hob mich arumgekukt* 'before I looked around,' *sajden* (G. *es sei denn*) *er ken nischt kumen* 'except, indeed, he cannot come,' *biz di böjd fort zu zu der achsanje* (Tal. אכסנייה) 'while the wagon drives up to the inn.'

Three Polish conjunctions are of very frequent occurrence: *abi* (Pol. *aby*), *chotsche* (Pol. *choć*), *zi* (Pol. *czy*). Examples: *abi zej zenen gut* 'if only they are good,' *chotsche er wejs nischt* 'although he does not know,' *du bist meschuge* (H. מְשֻׁעַ) *zi choser deje* (H. הִסְרִדֶּה) 'you are crazy or beside yourself.'

### Interjections.

The Jargon is remarkably rich in interjections, of which some are onomatopoeic or mere sounds, others are corruptions of words or whole sentences. To the first class belong such as *ach*, *i*, *oj*, *ha*, *och*, *ta*, *nu*, *na*, *scha*, *et et*, *fe*, *aha*. Examples: *Ach*, *Senderl, ich hob fargesen* 'O, Alec, I have forgotten,' *i*, *Binjomin, was falt dir ajn?* 'go away, Benjamin, what are you talking about?' *oj*, *biter*, *oj* 'oh, bitter it is,' *ha?* 'what's that?' *och iz mir* 'woe to me,' *ta, es iz do* 'granted there is,' *nu?* 'well, what of that?' *et et, es ken nischt zajn* 'I do not believe it, it is impossible,' *se* 'be ashamed,' *aha* expresses surprise, *na dir* (Rus. *na tjebjé*) 'there you have it,' *scha* 'be silent.' The last two have a plural formed like the imperative: *nat ajch* 'there you have,' *schat kinder* 'be silent, children.' To the second class belong words like *hajda*, *nebich*, *chleben*, *stajtsch*, *mischlejnsggezogt*. *Hajda* is German and expresses quick motion: *hajda ahejm* 'let us be gone.' The origin of *nebich*, which means nearly the same as the German 'leider,' I am unable to give; *er ken nebich nit kumen* 'poor fellow, he cannot come.' *Chleben* is a contraction of *ich zol leben*: *zej hoben ale gemegt chleben blajben in der hejm* 'they all might have stayed at home, upon my word.' *Stajtsch* is frequently used in expressing surprise or expecting an explanation, and is evidently a contraction of *iz tajtsch?* 'what is that in German?' i. e. 'what is the meaning of it?' just as *fartajtschen* means 'translate': *stajtsch, un di well?* 'well, and the world, what will it say?'

### IV.—INTERRELATION OF COMPONENT ELEMENTS.

The previous chapters contain sufficient explanation of the manner in which Hebrew and Slavic words enter into the composition of the Jargon. It now remains to ascertain the numerical relation between the three elements. For this purpose one thousand consecutive words in three different stories written by

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *nebich* is the Polish *niech Bóg* in the sentence *niech Bóg broní* 'may God avert,' a very common phrase in the mouths of Poles.

different authors were investigated, and the following result was obtained: In Benami's 'Di kindersche joren,' out of 1000 words 51 are of Hebrew, 34 of Slavic origin; in S. Rabinowitsch's 'Stempenju,' out of the same number 69 words are Hebrew, 17 Slavic; while in Sch. J. Abramowitsch's 'Dos klejne menschele,' 88 were found to be of Hebrew, 23 of Slavic origin. Averaging all three we would get 6.9 per cent. Hebrew and 2.5 per cent. Slavic words, or less than 10 per cent. of non-Germanic words composing Jargon speech.

By compiling a vocabulary out of some 20 pages quite different results were obtained. The text gave 1897 words, of which 1342 were of German, 320 of Hebrew, 131 of Slavic, 68 of uncertain origin, and 36 proper names. This would make the proportion as follows: 70.7 per cent. German, 16.8 per cent. Hebrew, 6.9 per cent. Slavic, 3.6 per cent. uncertain, and 2 per cent. proper names; thus about 30 per cent. of the Jargon vocabulary (not Jargon speech) are of non-Germanic origin. On a closer investigation this proportion, I believe, will be found to be about the correct one.

Of the 1342 German words the following have become obsolete in German or show marked deviations in meaning or form from the corresponding German words: *achtung* 'care,' *ajnlejgen* (*di welt*) 'make much ado,' *aksel* 'shoulder,' *arbel* 'sleeve,' *aweklozen zich* 'start travelling,' *azund* 'now,' *behalten zich* 'hide,' *bejgel* 'doughnut,' *bejkenen zich* 'be homesick,' *bezezen zich* 'settle,' *bekleren* 'consider,' *benemen* 'grasp, conceive,' *beschajmperlich* 'evidently,' *bewajbt* 'married,' *brikel* 'stile, front steps,' *brimblen* 'hum' (a song), *dachten zich* 'seem,' *ejgener* 'relation by blood,' *ek* 'end, tail,' *eken zich* 'come to an end,' *eller* (*di*) 'old age,' *emizer* 'somebody,' *epes* 'something, somehow,' *ergez* 'somewhere,' *etliche* 'some,' *farbinden* (*a schmues*) 'engage' (in a conversation), *farfalen* 'lost, in vain,' *fargejn zich* 'faint,' *farglozt* 'staring,' *farklajben zich* 'betake oneself,' *farnumen* 'busy,' *farschlept* 'chronic,' *farschtelen zich* 'mask,' *fartrachten zich* 'fall to musing,' *fartragen* 'busy,' *farwist* 'disconsolate,' *farzin* 'start a tune,' *farzëenisch* 'appearance,' *feter* 'uncle,' *flajsen zich* 'attempt,' *fort* 'still, nevertheless,' *gefinen* 'find,' *gel* 'yellow,' *gepilder* 'noise,' *geschmak* 'considerably,' *gewaldernisch* 'loud screaming,' *gich* (G. gach, jäh) 'quick,' *glajch wi* 'just if,' *glajche werllech* 'bon mots,' *glat* 'simply,' *gring weren* 'feel better,' *gwald* 'noise,' *harzklemenisch* 'heart-pain,' *hentschke* 'glove,' *hi* 'here,' *iberbeten*



*zich* (Rus. pereprositjsja) 'make peace,' *iberkeren zich* 'change religion,' *iberkrumen*, *ibernemen* 'imitate,' *iberrajsen* 'interrupt,' *iberschrajbechz* 'correspondence,' *illicher* 'everybody,' *jöjch* (G. Jauche) 'soup,' *kest esen* 'board,' *klajben zich* 'get ready,' *klejn-warg* 'little children,' *kleren* 'meditate,' *kochenisch* 'excitement,' *krenk* (*di*) 'disease,' *kuken* 'look,' *kwelen* 'rejoice,' *lajblich* 'staunch,' *lajtisch* 'gentlemanly,' *lichtig* 'bright, glorious,' *mansbil* 'man,' *mume* 'aunt,' *mejnst* 'most,' *nechten* 'yesterday,' *nechtigen* 'stay over night,' *obschaj* 'respect, awe,' *oftlich* 'somewhat often,' *ombajsen* 'breakfast,' *ongrejten* 'prepare,' *onhejben* 'begin,' *onhöjb* 'beginning,' *onkeren zich* 'belong,' *onkumenisch* 'happy occurrence,' *onwajzen* 'point out,' *opgejn* 'lack,' *opgeschlisen* 'ragged,' *oplejkenen* 'deny,' *oprufen zich* 'echo,' *opzegnen zich* 'bid good-bye,' *ousgejn* 'faint,' *ousgeschtrozelt* 'decked out,' *ousgezwoogen* 'combed, fixed up,' *ouswalgern zich* 'wallow,' *ouswajzen* 'appear,' *öjberkepel* 'guide,' *pizel* 'little piece,' *pluzim*, *pluzling* 'suddenly,' *redel* 'crowd,' *rudern* 'stir,' *rumplen* 'make a noise,' *schmek* (*tábeke*) 'pinch,' *schmeken* 'smell,' *schmiz* 'thrust,' *schnur* 'daughter-in-law,' *schparen zich* 'be obstinate, press forward,' *schtark* 'very much,' *schlattel* 'posture,' *schtendig* 'always,' *schul* 'synagogue,' *schwer* 'father-in-law,' *schwiger* 'mother-in-law,' *toren* 'be allowed,' *trer* 'tear,' *tromejt* 'trumpet,' *umgelumpert* 'awkward,' *umedum* (G. um und um) 'everywhere,' *umetig* 'sad,' *unterhaller* 'second' (in music), *warmes* 'dinner,' *wertlen* 'exchange words,' *winzig wos* 'hardly any,' *worum* 'because,' *wu nit wu* 'somewhere,' *züleb* (G. zu lieb) 'on account of,' *zunēmen* 'unfold,' *zunemenisch* 'surname,' *züzogen* 'promise.'

Dr. Zunz's remarks<sup>1</sup> in regard to the rôle that the Hebrew plays in the Judæo-German will also hold true with the Jargon. He says that the Hebrew words are used for things from the sphere of Judaism and Jewish life, for conceptions with which Jews got acquainted through the study of Jewish lore, for several expressions from the language of every-day life, and for objects for which Jews purposely would give no German name. Avé-Lallemant has given a copious dictionary<sup>2</sup> of the Hebrew constituent of the Judæo-German, but he errs in giving entirely too much, as it contains purely Hebrew expressions that have never become domesticated and forms of verbs which do not occur in the Judæo-German. Of 320 Hebrew words received by the

<sup>1</sup> Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden von Dr. Zunz, p. 453 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Das deutsche Gaunerthum von Avé-Lallemant, vierter Theil.



above-mentioned method, 56 are adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, mainly from the Talmud; ten are participial forms conjugated with *zajn*, as *מחל* 'be so kind,' *מקנא* 'envy,' *יוצא* 'do one's duty,' *מטריח* 'ask a favor'; one with *weren*: *פטייר* 'get rid of.' Ten verbs are formed with German prefixes and suffixes: *schadchenen* (Tal. *שחדן*) 'make a match,' *chanfenen* (H. *חנף*) 'flatter,' *ganwenen* (H. *גנב*) 'steal,' *farganwenen zich*, *unterganwenen zich* 'sneak in,' *tajnen* (Tal. *טענה*) 'argue,' *farsamen* (Tal. *פסם*) 'poison,' *arouspatern* (H. *פטייר*) 'get rid of,' *farschikert* (H. *שכר*) 'drunk.' Ten adjectives end in *dig*, *isch*, *er*; for example, *möjredig* (H. *מורע*) 'terrible,' *chazonisch* (Tal. *חזן*) 'of a cantor,' *emeser* (H. *אמת*) 'true.' Twenty-three words not verbs have German or Russian affixes, as *kalewajz* (H. *קלה* + G. *weise*) 'while being a bride,' *widerköjl* (G. *wieder* + H. *קול*) 'echo,' *chewrenik* (H. *חברה* + R. *nik*) 'one of a company.' The rest consists of nouns used in the form in which they occur in Hebrew, only the pronunciation being changed.

Of the Slavic words about one-half are taken directly from the Russian, nearly the same number from the Polish, and the rest either from Little Russian or local dialects. These words represent a variety of ideas; they are the names of plants and animals: *jágede* 'blackberry,' *ágres* 'gooseberry,' *indik* 'turkey'; or special Slavic dishes: *moróžne* 'ice cream,' *barschtsch* 'cream soup with turnips and cucumbers,' *wetschere* 'supper.' Others express endearment, as *ljubke* 'darling,' *chwat* 'fine fellow'; or family relations: *tate* 'father,' *mame* 'mother,' *bobe* 'grandmother.' Objects of native industry or imported goods have the Slavic form: *lópete* 'spade,' *smik* 'bow of a violin,' *schpakulen* 'spectacles,' *stejngel* 'ribbon,' *sloj* 'jar,' *bulke* 'small loaf of bread,' *barabán* 'drum,' *kápelesch* 'hat,' *kawe* 'coffee.' Verbs expressing order and command are derived from Slavic: *prawen* 'order about,' *poradkewen* 'make order,' *komandewen* 'command.' Scientific terms get the Russian form, with the ending *e*, however: *biografije* 'biography,' *reforme* 'reform.' A number of adjectives, hard to classify, are derived mainly from the Polish: *pisne* 'beautiful,' *same* 'very,' *prikre* 'bitter, disagreeable,' *pust* 'empty,' *modne* 'newfangled,' *ženske* 'female,' *kollenewate* 'having the plica.' Also many abstract nouns come from the same source: *postempek* 'deed,' *zekawest* 'curiosity,' *nówine* 'news,' *dolje* 'lot,' *antik* 'delicacy.' Objects and ideas of country life are nearly all Polish: *snop* 'garb,' *horewen* 'work hard,' *hodewen* 'bring up,

rear,' *penten* 'put on the fetlock, fetter,' *grude* 'pile,' *torbe* 'wallet,' *majontek* 'possession, farm,' *scharjen* 'dawn.' Many verbs from the Slavic are hard to classify, but the most of them seem to be onomatopoeitic: *chripen* 'squeak,' *chrapen* 'snore,' *leptschen* 'mumble,' *swistschen* 'blow, whistle,' *achken*, *ochken* 'wonder,' *katschen* 'roll,' *chapen* 'seize,' *blischtschen* 'glimmer,' *smalen* 'roast,' *mutschen* 'vex,' *chlipen* 'sob.'

Of the words of uncertain origin some have a German, others a Slavic appearance, others again are either of foreign origin or onomatopoeitic; such words are *lokschen* 'vermicelli,' *onweren* 'lose,' *schlek* 'plague,' *grajz* 'mistake,' *zideln* 'call names, quarrel,' *nebich* 'alas,' *schir* (*on a schir*)<sup>1</sup> 'limit,' *lekach* (G. *Lebkuch*?) 'cake,' *schtifen* 'cut up,' *sarwer* (French *servir*?) 'usher,' *schlag* 'cage,' *klejt* 'store,' *schlejger* 'manner,' *bentschen* (L. *benedicere*) 'bless,' *aren* 'worry,' *zejde* 'grandfather,' *zubúzken* 'strike against each other,' *arumblankewen* 'fidget about,' *kajkel* (Greek *κύκλος*?) 'circle,' *kajlechig* 'round,' *zutipen* 'beat time,' *mizkedrinen* 'all of a sudden (?)', *rendel* 'rouble,' *zuplézt* 'flat' (nose), *schmizern* 'chirp,' *terelajken* 'trill,' *ampern zich* 'talk lively,' *arumpadkewen* 'pay constant attention.'

#### V.—SYNTAX.

##### *Order of Words in Jargon Speech.*

The transposed order of the German subordinate clause does not appear in the Jargon. In the direct order the subject with its modifiers comes first; the auxiliary and short modifiers of the predicate and the personal pronouns (direct and indirect objects or with prepositions) follow; then is placed the predicate, followed by the modifiers of the same: *ich hob akegen a por minut zich geborbet in der buzemkeschene un arousbekumen fun dort geschribene papiren* 'for a few minutes I rummaged in my coat-pocket and brought out from there some written documents,' *di köjles hoben zich alz derwajtert un zich fartrogen gor in an ander zajt* 'the voices were carried further and further and took an entirely different direction.' The same order is used in subordinate clauses: *ich bin gegangen bi3 ich bin gekumen zu a ganz gröjsen plaz farwoksen mit gro3* 'I walked until I came to a very large spot entirely covered with grass,' *a3 ich bin abisel zu zich gekumen hob ich der3én wi di kljatsche kajt hej ganz ruig* 'when I came

<sup>1</sup>There may be compared the post-Bibl. *שֶׁעָר* 'measure, pensum,' and *הַשְׁעָרָה* 'estimation, calculation'; comp. also *שֶׁעָר*, Prov. 23, 7.

to I noticed the mare chewing quietly hay.' The pronoun may sometimes follow the infinitive or participle: *itlicher hot lib arajnzuschtupen zich* 'everybody likes to meddle,' or it may stand before the auxiliary: *wos ich hob gezên un wos mit mir hot zich pasirt* 'what I have seen and what has occurred to me.' Frequently, however, the infinitive or participle stands at the end, either in analogy with a preceding short sentence, where the same would naturally be at the end, or for the sake of rhythm, which influences even Jargon prose: *ot wos di mame hot mir mit a wejnendig kol derzejlt* 'as to what mother told me while weeping,' *jene narische majses mit welche du host dir dem kop farschlogen* 'those foolish stories with which you have crammed your head full.' The separable prefix generally stands near the verb: *zej schterchen ouf di welt et azöj mit gornischt* 'they make a great ado about nothing.'

The inverted order is used in the same cases in which it occurs in German: *zajn nomen wet ir gefinen do ongeschriben ouf di zachen welche er hot gemacht* 'his name you will find written in the works which he has produced,' *un wemen andersch hoben mir gekent ousklajben wen take nischt ajch?* 'whom else could we have chosen if not you?' *zol priwen ejner machen epes a gescheftel bald take tut im der iberiger öjlom noch* 'let any one attempt openly some business, at once the other people will imitate him,' *far wos nischt zi? ruf ich mich on* 'why not she? I exclaimed,' *es hot mir denstmol epes schrecklich zich gedrejt der kop* 'at that time my head was fearfully dizzy.' Infinitives and participles head the sentences much more frequently than in German, causing inversion: *köjfen an andersch hob ich nit gehat far epes* 'I did not have any money to buy another,' *gehodewet hob ich zich wi a wild ferd in step* 'I was raised like a wild horse in the steppe.' In Jargon, as in Russian, emphasis in the verb is produced by repeating it in the infinitive and placing it at the beginning of the sentence; as before, it causes inversion: *schlepen schlept zich es schtendig arum un horewet efscher noch mer fun jene wos firen tajere s-chöjre un esen ober est es makes* 'it is walking around all the time and works perhaps more than those that carry costly goods, yet it gets nothing to eat.' The inverted order occurs as frequently in subordinate clauses: *ich hob geklert az bald west du zurik ahejm kumen* 'I thought that you would soon come back home,' *es art ajch klal nischt az dort machen ferd umgliklich fil menschen* 'you do not care at all that the

horses there are bringing misfortune on many men.' In subordinate clauses the direct question is frequently used instead of the indirect one; in this case the order may be inverted: *der kop wert mir zuschpotten trachtendig was ken es zajn* 'my head cracks with thinking what it may be.' A present participle used as a gerundive (q. v.) heads the sentence: *oufsefendig di öjgen hob ich gezên ich lig ousgezöjgen ouf dem pol leben bet* 'as I opened the eyes I saw that I was lying stretched out on the ground near the bed.' A story frequently begins with a Hebrew quotation and a close translation of it into Jargon, in the manner in which Hebrew scripture and the Talmud are translated in the schools; in this case the inverted order or disorder is allowable; for example, *אמר מענדעל מוכר ספרים zagt Mendele möjchersforim* 'Mendele, the bookseller, says.' Sometimes the subject is followed by a long subordinate clause; in this case the verb of the principal clause is again followed by the personal pronoun as its subject: *a jid, az er wet zich nischt schtupen mit gewald, wet er megen ejbig take dort warten* 'if a Jew will not press forward with all his might and main he will have to wait there forever.' An answer to a rhetorical question may be inverted: *ivos-ze hot er geton az me hot im gehejsen onwajzen dem ganew? iz er gefalen ouf an ejze un hot ongehejben geben simonim* 'what did he do when they asked him to point out the thief? He thought of a scheme and began giving signs.'

#### Agreement.

In general the rules for agreement are the same as in German. No case-form is used after words expressing measure, weight, etc., but this is carried much further in the Jargon; we find not only such forms as *a schok epel* 'three-score apples,' *di chewre klezmer* 'the band of musicians,' but also *a lefel gekechz* 'a spoonful of soup,' *a ganejden frejd* 'a paradise of joy.' Frequently an auxiliary verb is made to serve two purposes, as in *dos harz wert ful, zuwejkt un es schtelen zich treren in di öjgen* 'the heart becomes full, is softened, and tears fill the eyes,' where *ful* is an adjective and *zuwejkt* with *wert* the passive. One of the most common anacolutha occurs when a number of perfect tenses follow each other; the first auxiliary alone remains, although a different one would be used with the other verbs: *du bist geworden alz schlafer un schlafer un zich arajngelejgt zum sof in bet* 'you kept on growing weaker and finally you went to bed,' *ich bin,*



*farschtejt zich, gegangen, geweint, gebeten* 'of course I went, cried, asked,' *di mejdlech zenen gor gebliben schlejn zugekowet zu zejere erter wi di token, kukendig ouf Stempenjun mit zajn zouberlich fidele, nischt gerirt mit kejn ejwer, nischt gepintelt mit kejn öjg* 'the girls stopped spellbound, like dolls, looking at Stempenju with his magic violin; they did not move a limb, did not wink an eye.' The first may be a reflexive verb, the second one not: *ich hob mich getapt un gekukt zejz farwundert in ale zajten* 'I groped around and looked astonished on all sides.'

Russian influence is clearly seen in the manner in which the verb *zajn* is used; a plural subject may stand with the singular *iz*, especially if the subject comes last: *oufn harz iz a3öj fil wejtigen* 'there are so many pains in the heart,' *s'iz du* 'it is you,' *junge lajt iz do umetum* 'young men are to be found everywhere.' The verb *zajn* may be omitted if some form of it occurs in the following sentence, closely connected with the first: *wu zwej zol er zajn a driter* 'where two are let him be the third.' A collective word, though in the singular, generally takes the predicate in the plural: *a tejl hoben gezogt* 'a part of them said.' As in Russian, *mit* is frequently used for the connective *un*; the predicate remains in the plural: *ich mit majn bruder gejn in drousen* 'I and my brother are walking out.'

#### *Moods and Tenses.*

The first form of the conditional is used in almost the same way as the English *should* form; for example, *mir farlangen fun ajch ir zolt gut iberkuken di papiren* 'we want you carefully to look over the documents,' *ale zajne frajnd glust zich zejz a3 zajne majses zolen kesejder opgedrukt un farköjft weren* 'all his friends want to see his stories, one after the other, printed and sold,' *keděj ich zol schpeter nizlich zajn in der welt* 'in order that I may be later on useful in the world,' *ach, wen di doktöjrim zolen beser farschtejn un mich befragen fun jene schmochtelaen* 'oh, if the physicians only knew better and would deliver me from those trifles.' Sometimes it represents exactly the Russian subjunctive: *nor a3 zi hot gezén a3 es iz arousgeworfene rejd wifl zi zol nischt reden* 'but when she saw that her speech was in vain, no matter how much she spoke' (cf. Rus. skóljko oná by nje goworfla). In conditional sentences the second form is used, but in the protasis the first is preferred: *wen zi zol nischt gewén machen mit di zajten un sapen wolt men zicher gemejnt do ligt a newejle*



'if she did not move her sides and breathe heavily one would think that there lay a corpse'; so also the second form is used in sentences that may be construed as apodoses of defective conditional clauses: *ich wolt awade geköfft nor wu nemt men di kaz?* 'I certainly should have bought, but where can one find the purse?'

The infinitive without *zu* is much more frequently used than in German: *lejj zich schlofen* 'go to bed,' *er hot zich genumen schrajben a brif* 'he sat down to write a letter,' *jeder iz najgirig a kuk tun* 'everybody is curious to look.' The infinitive with *zu* after verbs of motion is equal to the German past participle: *er kumt zu foren* 'er kommt gefahren.' A number of prepositions, especially those of Hebrew origin, may stand with the infinitive: *ejn jor far majn geböjren weren* 'a year before my birth,' *bichdêj zu derkenen di welt* 'in order to recognize the world,' *er krechzt nebich beêjs dem schmajsen* 'the poor fellow groans while being whipped,' *beschûs lejenen* 'during the reading'; a similar use of the infinitive occurs in *nischt recht zu wisen* 'without well knowing.' The repetition of the verb in the infinitive, as in Russian, for emphasis, has been discussed before: *nor tun tut men gornischt* 'but they do absolutely nothing.'

The participle is used in precisely the same manner as in Russian. It is used to express time: *tundig dos zogt zi mit a zifz* 'doing this she said with a sob,' *opgezungen dem הַגֵּרוֹת הַלֵּלִי me wascht zich un me zezt zich esen wetschere* 'having sung the הַגֵּרוֹת הַלֵּלִי they wash themselves and sit down to supper.' With the negative *nischt* it is to be translated into English by the participle with 'without': *Mechtsche pajkler krazt zich dos bewaksene halbe ponim nischt kukendig ouf kejnem* 'Mechtsche, the drummer, scratched his hirsute side of the face without looking at any one.' Stranger cases are the following: *es nemt on a schrek ousherendig zej* 'it seizes one with terror to listen to them,' *zwischen uns rejdendig* 'between us speaking,' *schreckliche zachen wos herendig werd farkilt dos blut* 'terrible things, hearing which the blood coagulates,' *wer es hot nischt Got in harzen zezt zich ouf im rajtendig* 'everybody who has not God in his heart mounts him.'

Since there are practically only three tenses in the Jargon, not much can be said of them. In vivid relation the present is used, and suddenness is expressed by the perfect aspect; for example, *pluzim git es mich a trog arouf, es trogt mich alz hecher, hecher biz ich tap on di erd wu ich bin gelegen un derfil wi di zun bakt*

*mir in dem riken* 'suddenly I was lifted up, I was carried higher and higher until I touched the earth, where I was lying and felt the sun roasting my back'; continued action is expressed by repeating the verb: *di milch schlejt un zit un zit* 'the milk is standing and keeps on boiling'; sometimes the present is used for the future, as in German: *wos far a nomen git men dem najem nefesch dajnem?* 'what name shall we give to your new soul?' The imperfect tense is used to express usual or repeated action: *zajn esen iz geweintlich gewên abisel sitschke, amol elliche dare schtiklech bröjt wos ich fleg awekköjfen baj oremelajt mit torbes* 'his food generally consisted of a little chopped oats, at times a few pieces of dry bread that I used to buy from poor people with wallets.'

#### Style.

Jargon prose is rhythmic. To meet these exigencies of rhythm recourse is frequently had to repetitions, as *zajne öjgen hoben gekukt wajt, wajt* 'his eyes looked into the distance,' *zej hoben geklert geklert, zich nebich gekrazt, gekrazt un hoben zum sof azöj gezogt* 'they thought for a long time, scratched their heads and finally said,' *gej schön, gej* 'do go,' *wos schrajst du, wos?* 'why are you crying?' Often a noun is repeated when only the second one gets the modifying adjective: *jeder fartift zich in zajne gedanken, in zajne trourige gedanken* 'every one is lost in his sad thoughts,' *baj Mechtsche hejbt zich on ouszuschiten a berdel, a gel berdel* 'a yellow beard is making its appearance on Mechtsche's face'; so also the repeated verb may have its modifiers: *der öjlom geht ous mit ale köjches, me schtarbt, me schtarbt mit ale ejwrim* 'the people's strength is failing, they are faint in all their limbs'; in some repetitions Slavic influence is evident, as in *ich hob geklert, geklert un hob derklert* 'I long thought and came to a conclusion' (cf. Rus. ja dumal, dumal i wydumal).

The most common repetition occurs when synonyms from different languages are given: *der doziger benmejlech hot in der jugent gewandrewet* (Pol.), *gemacht rajzen* 'the above-mentioned prince had travelled much in his youth,' *wu gefint zich azund der schlimmazeldiger* (Ger. + Heb.), *der umgliklicher prinz?* 'where is now the unfortunate prince to be found?' *wos iz mit dir di simche* (Heb.), *di frejd?* 'what cause have you for joy?'; or a Hebrew phrase may be freely translated: *un azöj alz wajter, wajter, biz es kumt ous* וְכִּי יָבֹא, *ale kabzonim in ejnem* 'and so

on until all beggars turn out to be together'; frequently the synonyms are all of the same language: *di ejgene hor zenen schön lang behalten, farborgen ouf tomid* 'her natural hair had been put away long ago and forever,' *zores on an ek, on an oufher, on opru* 'troubles without end.'

Alliterations and rhyming of words are not unusual in prose: *mit kind un köjt* (G. Kot?) 'with bag and baggage,' *opgerisen opgeschlisen* 'tattered and torn,' *nischt geschlōjgen* (G. gestiegen?) *nischt geflōjgen* 'a fictitious story'; disgust is expressed by changing the initial consonant to *sch*: *lib schmiß* 'do not talk to me about love,' *bang schmang* 'you have no right to be frightened.'

The Jargon style becomes abrupt in vivid narration; this shows itself pre-eminently in the omission of connectives: *nem trog awek ahejm ot a zwej frische bejgel* 'take these two or three fresh doughnuts and carry them home,' *ich wart acht tog—du kumst nischt, noch acht tog—bist nischto* 'I waited eight days and you did not come, eight days longer, and still you were not here'; by leaving out the verb the expression becomes very elliptic: *ot noch ejn minut—ous Stempenju* 'one more minute and Stempenju is gone,' *er schtupt zich azōj op dos ganze leben—un gornischt* 'he thus ekes out his whole life, and that is all.' To this also must be added certain elliptic questions that are very hard to render into English: *Jiden zifzen, Jiden krechzen, Jiden wejnen, un Stempenju? Wer—Stempenju? Wos Stempenju?* 'The Jews are sighing, the Jews are groaning, the Jews are crying, and what was Stempenju doing? He was beside himself with enthusiasm.' Rhetorical questions are exceedingly frequent in the Jargon: *er fleg a chap tun dos fidele un a fir tun mitn smik, ejn fir tun, nischt mer, fleg dos schön onhejben baj im reden, ober wi mejnt ir reden?* 'he would get hold of his violin and draw over it the bow just once, not more, when it would begin to speak divinely.' The same abruptness of style causes a main clause to take the place of a temporal or causal subordinate clause: *ich wel ob-risewen di schtot mit ale ire pischtschewkes mit ale mit anander, wet zich schön der lezer mistome onschlōjsen wos me mejnt do* 'if I shall describe the town with all its smallest details, the reader will certainly understand what is meant by it.'

As in the Slavic and M. H. G., double negatives are used: *dos iz nischt kejn nomen* 'that is no name,' *in Kabzansk iz far zej nischto kejn schum parnose* 'they can earn no livelihood whatsoever in Kabzansk'; a single negative sometimes occurs: *zej*

*zenen epes nischt azelche gröjse berjes* 'they somehow are no great experts'; otherwise one negative has a restrictive meaning: *lejent in di bichlech wet ir zen az nischt ejn prinz, nischt ejn mejlech iz durch zej ibergekert geworen in a zap* 'read in books and you will see that more than one prince, more than one king, had been changed by them into goats'; sometimes the negative expresses indefiniteness: *wu nit wu* 'somewhere.'

Out of religious piety or for the sake of averting evil influences and the evil eye, a number of formulas are used, which are invariably inserted in connected narratives, no matter whether the writer has any superstitious feelings or not. Such expressions are *nebich, mischlejnsgesogt* 'alas,' *nischt far ajch gedacht* 'may you not be considered in this light,' *kejn anore* (H. עין הרע) 'may no evil eye affect you.' So also in speaking of deceased persons, stereotyped phrases are used, as *zajn late alwescholem* (H. עָלֵיו הַשָּׁלוֹם) 'his father of blessed memory,' *zajn late zol hoben a lichtigen ganejden* 'his father, may he enter paradise.' An ugly excrescence of these invocations are the oft-occurring protestations and curses: *wi ich bin a Jid* 'as I am a Jew,' *ouf kejn guten ort zol er nit treten* 'may he never enter the good place,' *kejn guten sof zol er nit hoben* 'may he have no good end.'

#### VI.—EXTRACTS.

The following extracts have been chosen with the view of indicating the different varieties of the Jargon. I begin with the remoter dialects of the South and end with the Germanized form of the Lithuanian. The first extract is from the introduction of O. M. Lifschiz's Russian-Jargon dictionary (*Rúsko-Nowojewréjski Slowár*), third edition, printed at Kieff, 1881:—

נאך איין זאך מוז איך באווארענען, איך ווייס אז דעם עולם  
וועט אביסיל פריקערע ויין מיין איסלענען, דאס איז אבער  
נאר אין דער היתחלה, וועט מען זעה אבער איינגעוועהנען  
מיט דיא עטליכע כללים פון'ם שליסקעל, וועט עס געהן וויא  
אפידעל.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> = G. bewarnen. <sup>2</sup> Hebrew, public. <sup>3</sup> Polish, disagreeable. <sup>4</sup> = G. auslegen, expound. <sup>5</sup> Hebrew, beginning. <sup>6</sup> = zich. <sup>7</sup> Hebrew, rules. <sup>8</sup> = funm.  
<sup>9</sup> it will go like a fiddle = it will be easy.

To illustrate the manner of printing without vowel-signs I quote from the same author's introduction to his Jargon-Russian dictionary, Žitomir, 1876:—

סי' איז א ציקאווע' זאך צי זעהען וויא שווער סי קימט אן' איידער' א נייע זאך ווערד אנגענימען אה דער וועלט, געניג האט מיין רוסיש-יודישער ווערטערביך געהאט צי טיהן איידער ער איז איבערגעקומען זיינע סמיגאטערס' מיט זייע שאלות'.

The next extract is from S. M. Abramowitsch's satire 'Di Kljatsche' (2d edition, Odessa, 1889):—

א פריש, געשמאק' ווינטעלע האט פאמקעליך' געפלאזען אונ פון דיא וואלקענס, פון דעם שטורמווינט איז נישט געווען אפילו' קיין זכר' דער אפגעטובעלטער', אוםגעצוואנגענער' וואלד, איז געשטאנען וויא א חתן-בחור', אונגעטאן אין א גייער, גרינער זיפעטצע', ערשט פון דער נאדעל, געשיינט אונ געלויבטען' וויא דער ליבטיגער מארגענשטערען, וואס האט ערשט טאק' געבראכט דיא פרעהליכע בשורה', אז אט באלד קומט צופאהרען דיא זון, דיא טהייערע, גילדענע מחותנת' טע', אונ דיא חתונה' וועט זיך אנהויבען. אלסדינג האט געלויבטען, געפינקעלט, אלסדינג האט וויא עפיים זיך מכין' געווען, אלסדינג האט עפיים אויסגעזעהען וויא יום-טובדיג' אונ אומעטום האט געשמעקט' געוויירן, זיסע, ליבע ריחות' פון בשמים'. — שיין איז דער אנברוד אויף טאג וועסנע-צייט' אין דעם וואלד, שיין, זעהר שיין! דער בע-

<sup>1</sup> = es. <sup>2</sup> Polish, curious. <sup>3</sup> In the South *o* is frequently pronounced like *u*; the author indicates this sound by *u*, but his etymologies are not always reliable. <sup>4</sup> before. <sup>5</sup> = instigators (?), opponents. <sup>6</sup> Hebrew, questionings. <sup>7</sup> pleasant. <sup>8</sup> Polish, pomalu (?), slowly. <sup>9</sup> Hebrew, even. <sup>10</sup> Hebrew, mention, sign. <sup>11</sup> dressed up (?). <sup>12</sup> combed, decked out. <sup>13</sup> Hebrew, bridegroom. <sup>14</sup> blouse (?). <sup>15</sup> shining. <sup>16</sup> Slavic, just then. <sup>17</sup> news. <sup>18</sup> Hebrew, groom's or bride's mother. <sup>19</sup> Hebrew, wedding. <sup>20</sup> Hebrew, prepare oneself. <sup>21</sup> Hebrew, in holiday attire. <sup>22</sup> smell. <sup>23</sup> odors. <sup>24</sup> Hebrew, spices. <sup>25</sup> Russian and German, springtime.



ריהמטער פליזמרי, דער סאלאווייא, האט אנגעשטעלט זיין  
פידעל, אפצושפילען א שיינעם, א פיינעם, דאברידזען.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian poet Sch. Frug has also written in Jargon; his dialect has a leaning towards the Lithuanian; the stanza quoted is from his poem א פלאטעל ווי published in 'Di Jidische Folksbibliothek,' 1889:—

די גאנצע נאטור איז מיין רבי געווען:  
זי האט מיך געלערענט אי וינגען, אי שפילען,  
זי האט מיך געלערענט אי דענקען אי פיהלען  
זי האט מיר געצייגט וואס איז מיאוס<sup>2</sup> אונ וואס שוין.  
דאס הארץ זאל זיין פריש אונ דער קאפ זאל זיין ניקטער.  
צו אלץ זאל איך האפען א וואג אונ א מאס....  
אונ איך בין געווארען, צו מזל<sup>3</sup> א,.... וואס?  
א דיקטער, רבותים<sup>4</sup>, א יודישער דיקטער

A. M. Dick writes in the Lithuanian dialect, but with a tendency to introduce German words and constructions; the following passage from the introduction to one of his stories (דער שבעים-טאלצייט) Wilna, 1877) illustrates that tendency:—

### איינע קליינע הקדמה

אלע מוראליסטען (דיא פרומע מוכיחים) פערגלייכען דיא  
וועלט צו איינעם גרויסען יארמארק (יריד) וואס האט אין זיך  
טויזענדע מאל טויזענדע קראמען<sup>5</sup> וואס זיינען פול אונד פאק  
מיט אלער האנד וואארע (סחורה) מאטעריעלע (מגושמדיקע)  
דאס הייסט אלער האנד קליידונג אונ עסענווארג<sup>6</sup> וואס ווערען  
געברויכט אונ צוא ערהאלטען נור דעם קערפער. אונ  
ווידער אלער האנד גייסטליכע וואארע (רוחניות). דאס  
הייסט ספרים אונ ביקער וואס זיינען גימאכט אונ צוא

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew, musician. <sup>2</sup> Russian, nightingale. <sup>3</sup> Polish, good-morning.

<sup>4</sup> Hebrew, teacher. <sup>5</sup> Slavic, both—and. <sup>6</sup> Hebrew, ugly. <sup>7</sup> Hebrew, fortune.

<sup>8</sup> Hebrew, gentlemen. <sup>9</sup> Hebrew, introduction. <sup>10</sup> stores. <sup>11</sup> catables.

גענערען נור דעם גייסט . דאס הייסט איין צו פליסען אין דעם  
מענטשען תורה, חכמה, און מוסר, וויא צו בעגיין זיך מיט  
גאט און מיט לייטען . און דעם מענטשען האבן זיין פערגליכען  
צו איינעם אונערפארעהענעם (אונגעניטען) קויפמאן וואס איז  
גיקומען אויף דיזעם גרויסען וועלט מארק צו מאכען איינקויף  
מיט איינעם גאנץ קליינעם קאפיטאל (דאס הייסט מיט קנאפ  
שכל<sup>6</sup> און מיט קנאפע<sup>7</sup> יארין).

The last extract is from a novel in the same dialect as it is  
spoken to-day in New York City (by א נאָמאָן פֿון ניו יארק) "litwischen Filo36f," J. Saphirstein, 40 Canal street, New York,  
March 25th, 1893):—

—איך, שרייבער פון דיעזע ציילען, בין א טויטער; איך  
בין געשטארבען. מען האט מיר בעגראבען און פערגעסען.  
איך קען איך געהן ווייזען מיין קבר, אויב איהר גלויבט מיר  
ניט. פרובירט פרעגען אין מיין געבורט'ס שטאדט וועגען מיר.  
יעדער וועט איך באלד זאגען, אז איך בין געווען איינער פון  
דיא קרבנות וואס דיא כאלערא האט צוגענומען אין געאפעל,  
אין יאהר 1884 און אין דיעזע שעהנע איטאליענישע שטאדט  
וועט מען אויך דערזעהלען מיט א זיפף, וויא יעדער איינער.  
קינד און קייט<sup>10</sup>, האט געטרויערט אויף מיין אונצייטיגען טויט.  
דאך, לעב איך יעצט! איך פיהל אין מינע אדערן דיא  
הייסע בלוט פון דרייסיג זומער'ס, איך הער וויא מיין ברוסט  
קלאפט, איך זעה יעצט אין שפיעגעל דיא פארבען אויף מיין  
געזיכט. און דעד טויט האט מיר נור איבערגעלאזען איין  
קליינעם סימן<sup>11</sup>: מינע שווארצע האר זיינען ווייט געווארען  
וויא שנעע און מיין יונגער קאפ איז איינגעפאסט אין א ווייסען  
ראהם.

LEO WIENER.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA, Mo., April, 1893.

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew, knowledge. <sup>2</sup> Hebrew, wisdom. <sup>3</sup> Hebrew, instruction. <sup>4</sup> act.  
<sup>5</sup> Hebrew, understanding. <sup>6</sup> few. <sup>7</sup> Hebrew, grave. <sup>8</sup> Hebrew, victims. <sup>9</sup> sob.  
<sup>10</sup> bag and baggage. <sup>11</sup> Hebrew, sign.

P. 483. For "30 plays" read "20 plays," for "30,000 lines"  
read "about 21,000 lines" (20,870).—B. L. G.



### III.—NOTES ON THE USE OF GERUND AND GERUNDIVE IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

In this paper are presented some results obtained from a comparison of the various uses of gerunds and gerundives in Plautus and Terence. In vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 4 of this Journal, there were given statistics and results of a similar investigation in Tacitus and Pliny the Younger. In the Silver Age there was, of course, a much larger development of this peculiar Latin usage than could be expected in an earlier stage of the language, but it is evident upon investigation that even in Plautus there is a sufficient number of cases of gerunds and gerundives to make it clear that most of the later constructions and idioms had already been developed to a very considerable extent. It would be improper to institute an exact comparison between such totally different literary forms as Comedy and History or Correspondence, but some conclusions may perhaps be based on such a comparison. An analysis and classification of all the occurrences of these forms in Plautus and Terence may be of value, by stating the exact frequency of such uses, by giving an idea of the style of each writer in employing these forms, and by making possible an exact comparison of their Latinity in this respect, as well as some inferences concerning the growth of this method of expression during the few years intervening between them.

The most noticeable result of this analysis is the fact that in Early Latin the gerund is more frequently employed than the gerundive. Exactly the opposite was found to be the case in Silver Latin, as was to be expected, especially if it is assumed that the latter is a development from the former. In this comparison it should be remembered that in the 30 plays of Plautus there are in round numbers 30,000 lines, and in the 6 plays of Terence only about 6000. Therefore, if about the same absolute number of occurrences of any given usage is found in each, a much larger relative frequency in the later writer is indicated. It will be clearly seen that in Terence's time the language had advanced in this respect, and that these forms of expression play a more important part than they had done a few years before.

To facilitate comparison with the previous papers, precisely the same system of classification and numbering is employed here.



1. Genitive of gerund depending upon a substantive and used absolutely, without any modifying or dependent words. (Plautus) Dependent upon *copia*: dormitandi neque cunctandi Epid. 162, adeundi atque impetrandi Mil. 1226; with *tempus*: adeundi Pers. 4. 2. 21, Trin. 432; with *occasio*: fugiendi Capt. 117, faciundi Epid. 271; — modus dandi Asin. 167; partem loquendi Asin. 515; loquendi locum Capt. 212; dicundi gratia Curc. 706; ornandi satietas Poen. 215; compendium pultandi Pseud. 605; ducendi libido Trin. 745. (Terence) Dependent upon *copia*: crescendi Heaut. 28, inspiciundi Eun. 21, tangendi Eun. 638, videndi Eun. 639; with *causa*: obiurgandi And. 158, mittundi Phor. 50, (understood with) adsentandi Ad. 270; — obiurgandi locus And. 154; facilitatem pariundi And. 233; orandi finem And. 822; tempus consulendi Hec. 746; spatium vocandi sacrificandi Phor. 702; otium auscultandi Ad. 420.

There are 15 of these gerunds in Plautus and 14 in Terence, indicating a greater relative frequency, but a comparison of the passages furnishes no indication of any marked difference in the object or character of this usage. In general the same governing words are found which occur in every stage of the language, and the relation expressed is objective.

(a) In a few cases some modifying words occur depending on the gerund. (Plautus) Dependent on *copia*: recte conciliandi Pers. 4. 3. 77, in capite tuo conflandi Rud. 765; — male loquendi viam Poen. 629; male facundist potestas Stich. 117; respondendi mihi (labori) Pseud. 6. (Terence) liberius vivendi potestas And. 52; spatium cogitandi ad disturbandas nuptias And. 182; in aliis potius peccandi locum And. 232; causa retinendi apud vos Hec. 255; de integro potestas consulendi Phor. 174. This form was always rather sparingly employed—compared, that is, with the absolute use—and there seem to be no differences between Plautus and Terence sufficient to warrant any conclusions.

(b) In Terence there are two lines where gerunds occur in dependence upon an adjective, and none at all in Plautus. Cupida huc redeundi, abeundi a milite Vosque hic videndi Hec. 92-3, and ejus videndi cupidus Hec. 372, where *eius* is fem. and therefore *videndi* is the gerund; cf. XII. Plautus is not the only writer who does not use this construction, although it is not infrequent later. Its use even in few cases may perhaps be counted as slight evidence of the development of the gerundial form.

2. Genitive of the gerund depending upon a substantive and used transitively with a dependent accusative expressed or directly

understood. (Plautus) spatiumst perferundi quae minitas Capt. 743; ius optinendi optio Cas. 190; te defrudandi causa Men. 687; te rogandi (labori) Pseud. 6; potestas adipiscundist gloriam Stich. 280; rem perdundi gratia Curc. 706. (Terence) quae narrandi locus And. 354; existumandi copiam consuetudinem Heaut. 282; spatium adparandi nuptias Phor. 701; eludendi occasio senes Phor. 885; potestas condecorandi ludos Hec. 45 (cf. also Hec. 93, quoted under 1 *b*), spatium amandi amicam 684.

Here again there is practically an equal number of cases, which gives the relatively greater frequency to Terence. In character there seems to be no perceptible variation.

3. Gerund used with a preposition. (*a*) With *ad*: (Plautus) after a verb or past participle—magis cita ad perdundum ad scribundum Bacch. 738, ad male faciundum nimis doctus Epid. 378, conductus venio. Ad furandum quidem Pseud. 850; after a noun—ad loquendum atque ad tacendum habeas portisculum Asin. 516, benignitas ad auscultandum Mil. 80, in ad pervestigandum operam sumam Merc. 935 there might be a question whether the gerund depended on the noun or verb; after an adjective—aetas sat est ad perdiscendum Truc. 1. (Terence) After a noun or adjective—animum ad scribendum adpulit And. 1, canes ad venandum And. 57, causae ad obiurgandum And. 138 and 150, dies non satis ad agendum, me vocivom ad narrandum And. 706, aetas ad ducendum Phor. 423, otium ad potandum Phor. 832.

The number of occurrences is almost the same, 9 and 8, and there appears in this class only an extremely slight variation in usage. In Terence, in every case (unless the first-quoted be excepted), the gerund depends upon a noun or adjective; in Plautus there are three cases of its dependence upon a verb or participle. If the participles be regarded as adjectives, only one case of the use of a verb is quoted from Plautus.

(*b*) With *in*: (Plautus) linguam in tussiendo proserat Asin. 795, in sortiundo sors delicuerit Cas. 399, in cogitando dolorem indipiscor Trin. 224. (Terence) in pariundo adfuerunt liberae And. 771, tuom esse in potiundo periculum Heaut. 323, in cognoscendo tute ipse aderis Eun. 894, in deterrendo operam sumere Hec. 25, in experiundo ut essem Hec. 38, in agendo partem ostendent Ad. 24, in experiundo ut repudies Ad. 858, contrivi in quaerundo vitam Ad. 869, in adparando consumunt diem Ad. 900.

Here the first very marked difference in frequency of use is noticed, Terence in his 6 plays having this construction 9 times,

while Plautus in 20 plays has it only 3 times. Moreover, the relations expressed by this form in Terence are much more various than in Plautus, as may be clearly seen by examining the passages quoted.

(c) With *ex*: (Plautus) *ex gratulando vix eminebam* Capt. 504. (Terence) *id fieri . . . ex adsentando, indulgendo et largiendo* Ad. 988.

With *pro*: (Plautus) *pro vapulando hercle ego abs te mercedem petam* Aul. 456.

Nothing but the great infrequency of prepositions, except *ad* and *in*, is to be noted here.

4. Dative of gerund, used with or without object. This usage occurs in Plautus only, in the following cases:—Dependent on *modus*: *quid modist ductando, amando?* Asin. 169, *quid modi amplexando facies?* Asin. 882, *quid modi flendo facies?* Mil. 1311; with *pausa*: *osculando pausam fieri* Rud. 1205; with *opera*: *Epidicum operam quaerendo dabo* Epid. 605, *Eae nos lavando eluendo operam dederunt* Poen. 223, *auscultando operam dare* Amph. 1006; — *curando id me adlegavit* Stich. 681; in one case, *exemplum experiundo habeas* Mil. 637, the reading is very doubtful, so no conclusion can be drawn from it.

This is, in all stages of the language, a rare construction, and it is said that there is no instance of an object occurring after a gerund used thus, except these two or three in Plautus. It seems clear that this construction did not commend itself to Terence, and that it is a survival of the rudeness of an illiterate age. In the examples quoted it will be noticed that the usage is exceedingly limited in extent. In all but two of the cases the gerund depends upon an idea of limit or attention.

5. Ablative of the gerund without a preposition denoting manner or means. (a) With an object accusative: (Plautus) *manendo medicum* Men. 883, *hominem<sup>1</sup> investigando* Mil. 260, *male fidem servando* Trin. 1048. (Terence) *eadem et graviter audiendo victus* Heaut. 114, *bene vortendo et easdem scribendo male . . . fecit* Eun. 7, *oculos terendo expresserit* Eun. 68, *defessa te ridendo* Eun. 1008, *ea refellendo aut purgando* Hec. 254.

(d) Used absolutely without modifiers; (Plautus) *pugnando* Amph. 414, Asin. 555, Men. 1054, Mil. 267; *pultando* Most. 456, Stich. 313; *lamentando* Merc. 218, Truc. 731; *advorsando* Stich.

<sup>1</sup> There is here a variation in reading. Ritschl reads *homini*, which of course removes this case from this class. In any case, there are twice as many instances of this usage in Terence as in Plautus.

71, amando Merc. 312, ausculando Asin. 897, castigando Bacch. 981, dissimulando Most. 1015, exorando Stich. 71, experiundo Rud. 186, exspectando Epid. 320, fando Amph. 588, fricando Poen. 231, lavando Poen. 231, luctando Bacch. 428, mendicando Bacch. 514, negando Poen. 778, osculando Asin. 223, parasitando Pers. 1. 2. 4, pernegando Rud. 1017, potando Rud. 361, quassando Epid. 432, restitendo retinendo Capt. 502, rogitando Epid. 200, saliendo Bacch. 429, sedendo spectando Men. 882, vapulando Curc. 215. (Terence) accusando Phor. 1034, ambulando Hec. 435, 815, Adel. 713, consolando Heaut. 86, coquendo Ad. 847, cursando Hec. 815, experiundo Heaut. 331, gratulando Heaut. 879, intelligendo And. 17, molendo Ad. 847, orando And. 544, Heaut. 330, pollicitando And. 912, quaerundo Heaut. 675, sollicitando And. 912, tundendo Hec. 123, vapulando verberando Ad. 213.

34 cases in Plautus, 19 in Terence, a relatively greater number. There are some peculiarities of this form worth noting. For instance, in the four places in Plautus where *pugnando* occurs, it is always preceded by *vi*, showing that to Plautus this gerund corresponded precisely to a substantive. This is also shown by the combinations in some of the other cases, but not so strikingly. On the whole, however, there seems to be no perceptible change in manner of use between Plautus and Terence.

(e) Used with some modifying word or phrase: (Plautus) *apud omnis aedis sacras quaeritando* Amph. 1014, *bene salutando conpellando blanditer* Asin. 222, *pultando assulatim* Capt. 832, *male suadendo* Curc. 508, *cubando in lecto* Truc. 916. (Terence) *male narrando* Phor. 697. Some of the cases quoted under (a) might be counted here too, as in them the gerund has a modifying word beside the object accusative.

To sum up under this head: there are 43 cases of the ablative of the gerund in Plautus and 27 in Terence. The relative frequency of use in Terence is therefore twice as great in the later poet. In the actual occurrences there seems to be no difference in method of employment.

#### *The Gerundive.*

6. Genitive of the gerundive agreeing with noun or pronoun, expressed or understood, and dependent upon another substantive. (Plautus) *illius inspectandi copia* Bacch. 487, *conveniundi ejus copiam* Merc. 850, *eius conveniundi copiam* Capt. 748, *lucis tuendi copiam* Capt. 1008, *liberorum quaerundorum causa* Capt. 889,



potestatem caloris ulli capiendi Truc. 293, spes vostrum cognoscendum Rud. 1145. (Terence) et cognoscendi et ignoscendi dabitur peccati locus Heaut. 218, retinendi illius causa Eun. 620, eius amittendi nec retinendi copia Phor. 176, spes hujusce habendae Phor. 827, tempus conveniundi patris Phor. 828, potestatem ejus adhibendae Phor. 880.

There are of this usage 7 cases in Plautus and 8 in Terence. If now we look back at 2 (*a*), it will be seen that in each writer there are 6 cases of the genitive of the gerund used with an accusative object. In later times the tendency was to replace this latter construction by the former, but that tendency is hardly visible before 150 B. C. It is to be noted, however, that this form is relatively very much more frequent in Terence than in Plautus.

7. Dative of gerundive and substantive used as final clause after verbal or adjectival expression. (Plautus) argento<sup>1</sup> comparando fingere fallaciam Asin. 250, inveniundo<sup>1</sup> argento ut fingeres fallaciam Asin. 252, rei quaerundae operam dare Merc. 551, rei agendae operam dare Merc. 987, da diem meis rebus agendis Poen. 1189, ius iurandum rei servandae non perdundae conditumst Rud. 1374, metriculis moeniendis rem coegit Truc. 310, armamentis conplacandis componendis studuimus Merc. 192, lectis sternendis studuimus munditiisque adparandis Stich. 678, lucro faciundo auspicari Pers. 4. 6. 7, nox scitast exercendo scorto Amph. 288, salutare sit liberis procreandis Aul. 148, centuplex murus rebus servandis parum est Pers. 4. 4. 11, optimum esse operi faciundo corium Rud. 757. (Terence) his rebus anulus fuit initium inveniundis Hec. 821, natum ferundis miseriis Ad. 545.

8. Gerundive used in a passive sense in the predicate, after certain verbs, to denote the object of their action. (Plautus) with *dare*: hanc servandam Asin. 676, spectandum anulum Asin. 778, te elinguandam Aul. 250, famem utendam Aul. 311, aurum servandum Bacch. 338, puellam exponendam Cist. 1. 3. 18, adglutinandam totam Cist. 3. 3. 17, statuam faciundam Curc. 440, anulum utendum Curc. 603, pallium utendum Men. 659, (hanc) concinendam Men. 733, quam servandam Merc. 238, excrucandum me

<sup>1</sup> The first two cases quoted from Plautus are probably interpolations, but leaving them out, there are 14 cases in Plautus for 2 in Terence. The frequency of this construction in Silver Latin is well known, and it may have been characteristic of the earliest stage of the language, regarded with disfavor by such cultivated writers as Terence, and brought into vogue again through the antiquarian tendencies of the later writers, like Tacitus, who uses it more than any other writer.



Mil. 567, quaerundas duas Mil. 803, nummos utendos Pers. 1. 3. 38, filiam utendam Pers. 1. 3. 47, (filiam) utendam Pers. 1. 3. 48, hoc spectandum Pers. 3. 3. 36, pulchram spectandam Poen. 338, illunc excruciantum Poen. 1302; with *locare*: me castrandum Aul. 251, eferendum (illum) Aul. 568, caedundos agnos Capt. 819, praebenda Pers. 1. 3. 80; with other verbs: artoptam utendam *pelo* Aul. 400, caedundum illum *conduxi* Aul. 567, oculos nec *rogo* utendos foris Mil. 347, utenda vasa rogant Aul. 96. (Terence) with *dare*: (puellam) exponendam Heaut. 630 and 650, servandum quicquam Eun. 903, quem adoptandum Ad. 463; with other verbs: hunc comedendum vobis *propino* et deridendum Eun. 1087, agrum de nostro patre colendum habebat Phor. 365.

(In two cases in Plautus—caedundus tu homo's Cas. 518, and faciunda pondo duam nummum stalagmia, da inauris mihi Men. 541—the gerundive seems to have almost a simple adjective value.)

It will be seen that this usage is almost a stereotyped formula, and that in Plautus, in two-thirds of all the cases of its occurrence, it is with the verb *dare*, and in four more with *locare*. In Terence the proportion is somewhat less, but the inference seems warranted that the ordinary earliest usage was with *dare*, and one or two verbs like *locare* and *conducere*, and that its use with other verbs like *petere* and *rogare* was the result of analogy and a somewhat later development.

10. Gerundive and substantive used with prepositions. (a) With *ad*: (Plautus) ad aquam praebendam Amph. 669, ad sufferundas plagas Asin. 557, advortendum ad animum Merc. 11, ad enarrandum hoc Mil. 79, ad te diripiundum Poen. 646, ad aetatem agundam Trin. 232, ad quaerundum honorem Trin. 646. (Terence) ad haec utenda Heaut. 133, ad defendendam noxiam Phor. 225, ad dicendam causam Phor. 266, ad disturbandas nuptias And. 182.

This construction, so common in the later stages of the language, shows a slightly greater frequency in the later of the two writers under consideration, but calls for no further comment.

(c) With *in*: (Plautus) in mercimoniis emundis vendundisque Amph. 2, in aetate agunda Amph. 633. (Terence) in prologis scribundis And. 5, in opere faciundo Heaut. 73, in illis exercendis Heaut. 74, in re incipiunda Phor. 225.

This construction became very common later, and shows a greater absolute, and consequently much greater relative, frequency in Terence than in Plautus.

(d) With *de*: (only in Terence) de redducenda (ea) Hec. 391 and 403, de occludendis aedibus Eun. 784.

It is rather strange that no case of this kind occurs in Plautus, for three cases in Terence are enough to show that in his time it was a thoroughly good usage.

(g) With *inter*: only once in Plautus—*inter rem agendam istam* Cist. 4. 2. 56—an extremely rare use, quoted once from Enn. (fr. inc. 1. 2) and twice from Livy, and a very few times besides. Terence would not be expected to use such an idiom.

(h) With *pro*: only once in Plautus and not in Terence—*pro liberanda amica Persa* 426. This construction is found in all stages of the language, but must always have been infrequent.

It is to be noted that the numbers of these different usages are 11 in Terence to 12 in Plautus, marking a distinct gain in frequency.

11. Ablative of gerundive and substantive used after verbs, verbal phrases and adjectives. (Plautus) *opere faciundo lassus* Asin. 873, *te aggerunda curvom aqua faciam* Cas. 124, *dirumpi cantando hymenaeo* Cas. 809, *aggerundaque aqua defessi* Poen. 224, *retunsumst oppugnando pectore* Pseud. 1045, *pugnis memorandis meis eradicabam hominis aures* Epid. 446. (Terence) *opere rustico faciundo sumptum exercirent suum* Heaut. 142, *animus commotus mirando tanto bono* And. 938.

This is a comparatively frequent construction in classical Latin, but always strikes the ear as slightly strained, and evidently was rare enough in earlier times. Terence could not have liked it much, although he can hardly be said to have greatly preferred the ablative of the gerund with an accusative object.

12. There are two or three cases in each writer of uses which do not come under any of the above classes.

(a) As examples of the construction which stands between the gen. of the gerund and its object in the acc., and the gen. of the gerundive agreeing with its logical object, we find: (Plautus) *nominandi istorum tibi erit magis quam edundi copia* Capt. 852; (Terence) *novarumque spectandi faciunt copiam* Heaut. 29. Also (Plautus) *tui (fem.) videndi copias* Truc. 370; (Terence) *eius (fem.) videndi cupidus* Hec. 372.

Such sporadic cases occur at all stages of the language. The use of a gen. of the pronoun with the gen. of the gerund is less unusual than that of a noun in the same dependence.

In the *Persa* 4. 3. 60 *forma expetenda liberalem mulierem* we have the gerundive used as a simple attributive adjective.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Vedische Mythologie. Von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. Erster Band. Soma und verwandte Götter. Breslau, Wilhelm Koebner, 1891.

The widely celebrated plant which the Hindus designate by the word *soma* and the Iranians by the word *haoma* is the subject of the exhaustive study of the learned professor of Sanskrit in the University of Breslau. Professor Hillebrandt's qualifications for such an investigation are unsurpassed: his general knowledge of the Vedas, as well as his very special and extensive knowledge of the Vedic ritual, points to him as the very scholar best fitted for the delicate task. In the Veda and the Avesta alike, the earliest practices are strongly permeated with the cult of this plant. The earliest religious heroes of the Avesta are represented in Yasna IX as having successively pressed the *haoma* for their own good and for the happiness of their subjects. The *haoma* is the plant and its juice the drink of the golden age of Zoroastrian antiquities. A French savant, the late Abel Bergaigne, in a posthumous essay published in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. XIII (1888), following sundry indications of Professor Ludwig's, pointed out certain very significant circumstances which tend to show that the so-called 'family-books' of the Rig-Veda (books II-VIII) are essentially Soma-books; that is, they were composed as songs or prayers accompanying a *soma*-sacrifice which is the prototype of the *gyotistoma* of the later formal ritual, as described in the Sūtras. The *soma* is the expressed or implied centre of Vedic religious life to an extent which cannot easily be paralleled from the religious history of any other people: every part and characteristic of the plant, every act in the pressing of the intoxicating and inspiring liquor, is noticed with sedulous care, and made the basis of religious speculation. The precise extent to which the *soma* engages sacerdotal activity in the Veda does not as yet, even after Professor Hillebrandt's careful analysis, appear with sufficient emphasis. I venture to say that the adjustment in correct perspective of the *soma*-cult will ultimately show better than anything else what the Rig-Veda really is. Even now one may venture to state that the great mass of the hymns of that collection were composed as a part of the *soma*-ritual, that the Rig-Veda is essentially a *soma*-book.

The body of Professor Hillebrandt's work is divided, very naturally, into two parts. The first deals with the plant and the liquor which is expressed from it. Every descriptive detail concerning the branches, the stems, the color, the places where the plant grows, and the modes by which it is procured, is discussed with great care, in order to establish the biological character of the plant. Every circumstance connected with the pressure, the instruments with which the juice is extracted, the vessels into which it is gathered, the times and occasions on which it is drunk, the admixtures by which it is

enriched and modified—all these are stated in order, and stated strictly upon the basis of the documents. This part of the investigation may be regarded as approximately final, notwithstanding the essentially negative result; for the author concludes that the plant which was considered as the most excellent by the Indo-Iranians, the remoter ancestors of the Vedic people, was not necessarily the one whose praises are sung in the Veda, and the plant described in the Veda need not be the *sarcostemma* of the later tradition. Only one statement occurs with unfailing persistence: the fluid is extracted from bright-colored shoots and branches, and this, according to the author, is necessarily so, since the Soma is the 'moon-plant' (p. 13). The bright shoots of the plant are the rays of the moon.

This brings us to the second part, the mythological interpretation of Soma, which Professor Hillebrandt establishes with great skill and well-nigh exhaustive philological learning. Vedic scholars in general had noticed the positive identification of the moon with Soma; this is, indeed, a commonplace in the 'second period' of Vedic literature, the Brāhmanas, and continues from that time on through Sanskrit literature. It had been admitted also that this identification is expressed roundly in parts of the Rig-Veda itself, which are supposed to be of somewhat later date than the body of that collection. Here and there a voice had been raised, more or less clearly and confidently, calling for a complete identification of Soma and the moon, even in the earliest parts of the Veda (Professors De Gubernatis and Pischel). Now Professor Hillebrandt undertakes to clarify and establish this view. The moon, in the view of the Vedic Hindu, is not only the silent illuminer and ruler of the night: that is only one side of its character, and by no means the most important. Incomparably more momentous is the following: the moon contains the drink of the gods, the *amṛtam*, the ambrosia. As the stems of the Soma swell in order to yield the juice, so does the moon swell for their nurture. The moon is a drop, or a wave, or a well in heaven full of sweet nourishment for the gods. In this sense the name Soma came to be the most common designation of the moon among the Hindu writers of the classical period. The Rig-Veda says: 'The moon moves along in the (heavenly) waters.' This simple physical conception is attributed to Soma as well, and with much fantastic modulation. Thus Soma is spoken of as the friend and husband of the waters. Since the clouds are constantly designated as cows, Soma, the moon, is compared with the bull who stands in the midst of the cows, or, with a quick turn of the imagination, the moon is the young calf of the cloud-cows. In short, the heavenly Soma is the moon throughout the Hindu religious writings, the 'earliest' parts of the Rig-Veda not excluded. So frequent are these Somic ideas that the centre of gravity in the mass of Vedic conception must be shifted from solar mythology to lunar mythology. The sun recedes, and in its place the moon dominates Vedic religious thought.

I think the readers of Professor Hillebrandt's book should be cautioned against this last view, whose saliency and catchiness render it an especially dangerous tool in the hands of those who are not adepts in Vedic religion. The Vedic hymns present a naturalistic polytheism entirely too catholic in its appreciation of natural phenomena to make it possible to designate it either as solar or lunar. It is both and neither. Bearing in mind Indra and the



countless cloud-demons which he destroys, one might with equal justice designate it as a monsoon-religion; or bearing in mind Agni in his varied aspects and functions, one might speak of fire-worship. As a matter of fact, the anthropomorphic gods which arose upon the basis of solar perceptions did finally happen to prevail. Soma in the later mythology is the moon, and never more, and as such holds a position in the lower pantheon. But Savitar, the inspiring, enlivening principle of the sun, and Tvaṣṭar, the divine artificer (according to the author, another solar god), blend with certain more abstract conceptions in Prajāpati, 'the lord of the creatures.' And Prajāpati, together with his variants Viṣvakarman, 'the fabricator of the universe,' Parameṣṭhin, 'he who occupies the highest summit,' Svayambhu, 'the self-existent being,' come as near the realization of monotheism as was ever possible in India. And these, as is well known, in their turn contributed to the development, or perhaps better, caused the development of the neuter *brahma* into Brahma, the ultimate pantheistic all-god, the final outcome of all Brahmanical speculation.

As to the main thesis of Professor Hillebrandt's book there can be no question. The moon is there in all those countless passages which describe Soma either in language so plain that one wonders now how it could ever have been misunderstood, or with a symbolism so fanciful as to remove, in part at least, the wonder. This investigation will help materially in removing the artificial barrier which has, until recent times, been kept around the hymnal literature, to the exclusion of the remaining Vedic and Hindu writings. About the pre-Vedic identity of Soma and the moon, however, I do not feel so certain. Professor Hillebrandt believes that Haoma in the Avesta is also to be identified with the moon, but the proofs which he adduces are few and, to my mind, inconclusive. The treatment of the *haoma*-plant in the Avesta is not reported with sufficient detail to justify the belief that the same *rapprochement* to the moon took place. The conception of the equivalence of Soma and the moon seems extremely difficult to conceive, if we eliminate the sacerdotal ritual of a highly-developed type, such as the songs of the Rig-Veda presuppose, to my thinking at least. In any case it seems difficult to imagine the identification of the moon with the *soma*-plant upon a basis of free popular thought. It is speculative; it is Talmudical; it savors of the priestly imagination. The presence of it in the Rig-Veda only tends, along with many other related facts, to show how far advanced in this direction 'the Aryan Bible' is. It does not by itself prove that the Indo-Iranians, or perchance the Indo-Europeans, knew of a 'moon-plant' from which they pressed an earthly ambrosia, emulating the gods whose nourishment was constantly replenished in the waning and increasing luminary of the night.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

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Aristophanis Vespae cum prolegomenis et commentariis, ed. J. VAN LEEUWEN, J. F. L.-B., E. J. Brill, 1893.

A commentary on the Wasps, says van Leeuwen, is sadly needed. The text is well enough, but exegesis has been neglected. The latest commentary he knows is that of Richter, Berlin, 1858, and of Richter's competence as an interpreter of Aristophanes' jests van Leeuwen has a poor opinion, which he



justifies by some specimens of the German's obtuseness. But a commentator who is sufficiently acquainted with English to illustrate Aristophanes by Dickens ought not to have ignored Green, to whom Blaydes refers frequently; ought not to have ignored Rogers, who has dealt with the purpose of the play in an independent spirit and is by no means dead to the *facetiae* of the comic poet. Rogers does not share the ordinary view that the Wasps is an attack on the dicastic system, nor does he believe that Aristophanes was alive to its defects. He agrees with Fallex in thinking that the Philokleon of the Wasps is the Demos of the Knights in another form; and to him 'The one matter submitted to arbitration is this: Are the dicasts really lords of all, or are they in reality mere tools and slaves of the Demagogues themselves?' The Wasps 'has for its object,' according to Rogers, 'the rupture of the alliance which existed between the Demagogues on the one hand, and the dicasts who constituted their main support and stay in the popular assemblies, on the other.' But how could such a system be more effectively arraigned than it is arraigned by the caricature of a state trial that forms so large a part of the Wasps? And how is the desired rupture effected? In the Wasps there is nothing that corresponds to the resipiscence of the Demos in the Knights. The conversion of Philokleon from the error of his ways has no political significance, and the dénouement of the Wasps is, as has been said often enough, the dénouement of the Clouds turned round. Philokleon is converted by his son as Pheidipides is converted by his father, and the fun lies in the bewilderment of the teachers at the success of their instructions. In the Clouds, as we have it, the grimness of the catastrophe checks the merriment, but in the Wasps the outcome is a sheer farce, a sheer bit of self-mockery, such as is highly characteristic of Aristophanes, such as is alien to most of the solemn personages who undertake to edit Aristophanes. But to say that the disharmony is part of the play, that the *couac* is part of the *opéra bouffe*, would be a thesis utterly unworthy of the philological guild. Nor dare we appeal to the confessions of modern novel-writers, who tell us that their characters once created are utterly independent of their creators, and go their own way, regardless of the wishes of the authors of their being. All this superficiality must be frowned down and orthodox methods followed, to restore the artistic balance of the original Wasps. Needless to say, we have in van Leeuwen's presentation a *duplex recensio* after the fashion of the Clouds, and the extant Wasps is an *opus non integrum sed in fine ab imperita manu infelicitè admodum contaminatum*. But into the details of van Leeuwen's theory, into the traces of the *duplex recensio* and the *contaminatio*, those words of fear to unphilological readers, and to some philological readers as well, I will not go just now, but a rapid outline may be of interest.

As to the general scope of the play, van Leeuwen does not deny, as Rogers denies, that in the Wasps Aristophanes is attacking the dicastic system, but the attack on the dicastic system is a covert attack on Kleon, and as Kleon was the arch-demagogue, van L. and Rogers are not so far apart. Only we must remember that as a poet Aristophanes had to incarnate, had to have a being of flesh and blood for his model. Scratch Demos, scratch Dikaiopolis, and they will bleed. They are not mere personifications; and so it is better to take the concrete Kleon, now that we have him, for the target of Aris-

tophanes than the abstract Demagogue. But the concrete Kleon had shown himself a little too concrete for Aristophanes' comfort. He had been assailed in the poet's second play, the *Babylonians*, and the ogre—ὁ καρχαρόδους, as Aristophanes calls him—had shown his teeth to some purpose, for in the next play, the *Acharnians*, the poet's attitude is rather deprecatory. But the success of the *Acharnians* and the applause of the young Tories emboldened Aristophanes to a renewed and more effective assault on his enemy. The prudent counsel of his sponsor, Kallistratos, was disregarded, and he proceeded to make shoestrings of the tanner's hide. The *Knights* is a savage piece, and van Leeuwen thinks that the earnestness of the poet was a disadvantage to his art. There is none of the joyous fun of the *Acharnians*. Reprobate though he be, we are all in love with Dikaiopolis, whereas the reformed Demos is as disagreeable an object after he had ceased to be the dupe of the Paphlagonian as he had been before. But for all that the *Knights* was a great success, in fact too great a success, and was punished by a vindictive lawsuit, in which the Kydathenaian Kleon evidently got the better of the pseudo-Kydathenaian Aristophanes. Kallistratos and Philonides had to come forward as sponsors for the subsequent pieces, and Aristophanes had to seek another field for his comic exercises. This he found in the airy regions of Cloudland, and there he did battle with the new lights of the philosophic firmament—with Sokrates and Chairephon. But he failed—partly because the new education was an old joke, which he himself had used up in the *Δαιδαλῆς*, partly because the new Sokrates was not the old Sokrates that every man, woman and child in Athens was familiar with. Sore at his failure, the poet turned from the unsubstantial and unsatisfying realm of the clouds to the solid earth of public life, where his previous great successes had been won, and went into politics again. But he had not forgotten the lesson that Kleon had taught him, and selected a theme that was full of absurd contrasts and yet one that could be handled without a direct assault on his dangerous foe. Kleon had raised the dicast's fee to three oboli, and this advance was such a boon to the poor veterans of the Persian War that they went thronging to the courts as to a Soldiers' Home; and it was this ridiculous contrast between the heroic past of the men of Marathon and their pitiful present that, according to van Leeuwen, made the subject so attractive to the comic poet. One pauses to wonder how many Marathon men, how many Salaminians, were left to serve on the jury. Some of the reminiscences of the chorus, it is true, go very far back, but they are decidedly of the 'bummer' order, and one fails to see the contrast between the heroic youth and the sordid old age of the men of the Persian War, that contrast which is supposed to have furnished so happy a theme for the comic poet. The bums and the malingerers and the bounty-jumpers of our own war are precisely those who are most eager for pensions, and the sordid old age is only the sequel of a sordid youth. But no one will seriously insist on the chronological exactness of the *choreutai* of the *Wasps*. They may have stepped down out of the picture in the Stoa Poecile, for all we care. The bums of the *Wasps* are quite as real as the Salaminian rearward of the Demos in the *Knights*, and no more so.

Now, in the opening of the piece, Aristophanes, or his mouthpiece Xan-

thias, renounces an attack on Kleon as he renounces an attack on Euripides. But he does not keep his word. The Cyclops of Euripides is parodied in the closing scene, and the covert attack on Kleon is changed into an open assault. Surely it would seem that the names of Philokleon and Bdelykleon are frank enough, but van Leeuwen thinks that they might have been explained away. κλέος would fit Κλεώνυμος and Κλεοφῶν, and Aristophanes might have sheltered himself behind these, if the attack were renewed. To be sure, everybody knew that Kleon was meant, but the poet could set up a fair defence in a court of law, if he were brought up again. After Kleon's death, continues van Leeuwen, there was not the same ground for caution, and when the play was revived, all those drastic passages in which Kleon is directly attacked were introduced, the well-known screed from the Peace was added as a *purpureus pannus*, and a new conclusion tacked on. So much for van Leeuwen's treatment of the play as a whole. Like all such hypotheses, it demands large space for an adequate criticism, and this *résumé*, with the occasional comments, must suffice for the present. It is to me always a pleasure to come back to the Wasps, which I have found a good centre of Aristophanic work, and which has been unduly neglected; but in what further space I can steal from my contributors, I will confine myself to some remarks on van Leeuwen's commentary.

Those who are possessed of the German mania for exhaustiveness might complain that van Leeuwen does not seem to have troubled himself about recent monographic work on Aristophanes and one seldom finds anything that does not belong to the old stock. Of course, he could not well overlook the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, which he discredits here as he has done elsewhere; and the Mimes of Herondas are cited. Of periodical literature there is just one reference to a stray article in the Classical Review, and he has also noticed a recent archaeological monograph. There is no systematic treatment of the metres, though we have an excursus on the measures of v. 273 foll.; nor does the editor discuss the doctrine of the ἀγών, though his note on v. 533 is a virtual acceptance of it. The stage directions are very full, and show a disposition to be amused by the action of the Wasps. Unfortunately, full stage directions are apt to be resented by the reader, and every one will remember that the late Dr. Kennedy was a great sinner in this regard. Every right-minded person repels the editorial nudge where the editorial nudge is not needed. The Dutch parallels, on the other hand, with which van Leeuwen enlivens his notes are not unwelcome, and are calculated to give a good impression of the Dutch version for which he is responsible. In matters grammatical van Leeuwen is somewhat hidebound, as one would expect from his habitat, though he is occasionally penetrated by a new observation, such as that made by Seaton in the Classical Review, 1889, according to which (see note on v. 269) the iterative ἄν with ind. has its chief home in familiar language. We knew before that it was Attic and not Homeric (Goodwin, M. and T. 249), for in the Homeric passage cited by Kühner, β 104 (cf. τ 149 and ω 139), ἐνθα κεν has given way to ἐνθα καί. Still, we must not be too quick in citing Herodotos for familiar language. In that great artist χάρις and ἀξίωμα were paired (D. Hal. de Admir. vi 1083 R.), and we are never to forget the sophistic element in his style. To cite Herodotos as a naïf writer is

itself *naïveté*.<sup>1</sup> But perhaps this is pressing a point too much, and one ought not to be too hard on a Dutch Hellenist when he shows openness of mind. Openness of mind, however, is hardly to be asserted of the note on the well-known γρίφος with which the play opens:

ἑδόκουν αἰετὸν  
καταπτόμενον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μέγαν πάνυ  
ἀναρπάσαντα τοῖς θυξίν ἀσπίδα  
φέρειν ἐπὶ χαλκὸν ἀνέκᾳ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
κάπειτα ταύτην ἀποβαλεῖν Κλεώνυμον.—(vv. 15-19.)

The whole joke, the whole surprise, lies in the position of the two accusatives with the infinitive—first subject-object, then object-subject—and yet van Leeuwen, who enjoys the jest, as he shows by his punctuation, has the hardihood to say (v. 429) that there was less ἀμφιβολία in the position of acc. before and acc. after inf., because the acc. before inf. is regularly the object (*obiectum tantum non semper praecedit*). In the first place it is not true, and in the second place ambiguity is ambiguity. When we invert in English, ambiguity may arise, as when Tennyson says:

"It is the land that freemen till,  
That sober-suited Freedom chose,  
The land where girt with friends or foes  
A man may speak the thing he will."

But ordinarily it matters not. The context will show. And so with the Greek. But the ἀμφιβολία is there, and we are warned against it by the Greeks themselves. See the passages of the Greek rhetoricians cited A. J. P. VI 489, to which add Rhet. ad Alex., c. 25 (Sp. I 212, 6; cf. III 243, 13). In fact, Aisch. Choëph. 886, 7, cited by van Leeuwen, dwells on the ambiguity:

ΟΙ. τὸν ζῶντα καίνειν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω.  
ΚΑ. οἱ γὰρ. ξυνῆκα τοῦπος ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.

However, it is fair to say that some commentators do not think that the αἰνιγμα lies there. Better, it does not lie wholly there. Of the ambiguous passages cited, Ar. Eq. 209 is an oracle, Eur. Med. 679 is an oracle, and in an oracle ambiguity might well be expected. Or are we to follow the example of rule-mongers and say that in oracles the regular order is reversed? μὴ γένοιτο. Add to the examples of subj.-obj. given in this Journal (u. s.) Eur. Tro. 655, 765, where, however, Reiske made a difficulty, Hdt. 3, 45, Ar. R. 31, Plat. Rpb. 6, 506 E, Xen. Cyr. I, 4, 28. But why multiply passages? A run through any Greek author will convince the attentive reader that *tantum non semper* is a mistake. An unlucky attempt to solve the much-discussed form involved in ἐξεφρίμεν

<sup>1</sup> I cannot refrain from quoting here a passage from Kaibel's Stil und Text der ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, which fell under my eye as this notice was passing through the press: "Herodot schreibt ja nicht, wie man sich das gelegentlich vorgestellt hat, wie ein naïves Naturkind, sein Stil ist das Product mühevoller Kunstübung, und nichts wäre unrichtiger als wenn man sich einbilden wollte, seine neun Bücher wären eine Musterprobe der λέξις εἰρημένη" (p. 66). But see the whole passage. To be sure, Boeckh had long ago looked into the heart of Herodotos (Kl. Schr. VII 597), but so long as Herodotos is edited for schools, we shall have the old stock characteristic brought up for the benefit of the youthful mind.



is found in the note on v. 125. *ἐξεφρίμεν* is written out *ἐξεπαρίμεν*, *εἰσφρήσω* is *εἰσπαρήσω*, and so of the rest. Nauck's *ποίημι* he does not accept; still less *πιφρήμι*, *quod nullum fuit*. Brugmann's solution (A. J. P. II 137) he does not mention at all. Assuredly *ἐκπαρ-*, *εἰσπαρ-* are harder to swallow in that order than the process by which *φερ-*, *φρε-* is assimilated to *ἦμι*. v. 177 *ἐξάγειν δοκῶ* doubtless needs correction, but it is simply fetichism to follow Cobet's *ἐξαγ'* *ἐνδοθεν* when Elmsley's *ἐξάξειν* lies so near. v. 231 *ἡμὰς κύνειος* assuredly calls for a note, and so does *τὰς κύννας*, v. 394. *ἀρέσκειν* with acc. finds no mercy in the eyes of a Dutch uniformitarian, and we are ordered to elide *μοι* in Aristophanes (v. 776), after the pattern of epic poetry and after the example which Ar. himself has set in *οἶμοι*. This was to be expected, but it was utterly unexpected to find in van Leeuwen's fluent Latin *per aliquem stare* (Proleg. ix) in a sense against which the *plagosi Orbili* of my boyhood used to warn beginners in Latin composition.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian Odes. With Notes Explanatory and Critical, Introductions, and Introductory Essays by C. A. M. FENNELL. New Edition. Cambridge, At the University Press. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1893.

Mr. Fennell's edition of the Olympian and Pythian Odes of Pindar announces itself as a new work, and, though much of the old matter has been retained, the claim is not an idle one. The metres have received considerable attention; the echo theory has been pursued into all its details; and the principle that there must be a symmetry in contents corresponding to the symmetry in form has had a marked effect on the treatment of the structure of the odes. In all these points, however, Mr. Fennell has not only preserved but has been careful to assert his independence. The application of the principle of symmetry has not regularly yielded the results presented in my edition, though the divergences are not startling for the most part. The metrical schemes of the old edition have been abandoned, and the new metric is followed to a certain extent, but Mr. Fennell considers H. Schmidt's results as entirely too definite, and contents himself with recording the various metrical groups as they present themselves to him, and declines to take notice, at least regularly, of such symmetry as his own metrical schemes exhibit. The observation of the responsions has not been favorable to the theories of Mezger and Bury, and the contention of Bulle that there are too many verbal responsions for the catchword theory is confirmed by an almost fatiguing cumulation of examples. Words recurring in exactly the same position as regards metre, or, as Mr. Fennell calls them, 'tautometric' words, he considers, as a rule, to be without significance, whereas an obviously significant repetition is generally 'heterometric,' unless more than one word is recalled. At the same time, no explanation of the undeniable frequency of these repetitions is given beyond vague surmises.

In criticism and exegesis Mr. Fennell does not seem to have troubled himself much about the work that lies scattered through journals and dissertations, and one can imagine the rage of Bornemann when he finds that all



his Pindaric articles, including his marvellous reconstruction of Pythia VI (Philol. LI 465), have been left unnoticed. Granted that much of this literature is naught, still Mr. Fennell's edition is considered by his countrymen to be something more than a mere introduction to Pindar, and he cannot afford to pass over matters that a school edition might be excused for failing to notice. So, for instance, in the vexed passage O 6, 15 he proposes, evidently with great satisfaction, *τε δαισθέντων* as a conjecture of his own, but that conjecture was made long ago by van Herwerden (Jahrbh., XIII Suppl. Band, p. 10), and will be found in the last impression of my edition, with a parallel passage, not from Euripides, but from Pindar himself (N 9, 29). I might point out further that in O 10, 21, *διαλλάξαντο*, the gnomic aor., which relieves the situation entirely, has been suggested by a number of scholars—Lehrs, Schroeder, Wilamowitz (see A. J. P. XII 386)—but as every potential optative is a comfort to Mr. Fennell, I forbear. The notes, as in so many English editions, seem to have been prepared not so much to help the student as to emphasize those points where the editor has special views to advocate or special antagonists to rap. But, if Mr. Fennell has not been over-liberal in his notes, he has tried to make up for that deficiency by long stretches of translation, though it must be said that his renderings keep so close to the text that they are generally quite as obscure as the original. Many of the old notes have been retained unaltered, many have been abridged, and the space thus gained is largely occupied by criticisms of other editions, sometimes with, more frequently without, the mention of the sinners' names. My own share of the punishment I am disposed to take in perfectly good part, though I have here and there been tempted to exclaim 'Ne sis mihi tutor'; for in many, if not most, of the points mentioned the individual judgment of the editor must be respected and 'Beware' and 'Do not' are entirely out of place. The men who made the Xanthus of O 8, 47 the river of Troy and not, as the scholiast has it, the city of Lycia, are among the best commentators of Pindar, whom it is no shame to follow. Nor is a point of grammar settled by classing such a man as Bergk among the unsympathetic editors (P 4, 268), and he who prefers to consider the *ἀελπίτι* βαλὼν of P 12, 31, not as the *dativus termini*, for which there is scant warrant in Pindar, but as the dative of the instrument, might invoke Pindar's own words: *μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνος* (O 8, 55). In treating of *ἐπί* Mr. Fennell makes a point of rejecting my interpretation of the passages in which I prefer the more plastic notion of superposition to the more prosaic metaphorical renderings (cf. O 2, 12), just as in dealing with a poet I have not hesitated to revive the local notion that lies at the bottom of *καθορᾶν* (P 9, 53). Mr. Fennell may be right in both these points, but a ukase will not do away with the thesis that 'the sharp, local sense of the preposition is everywhere to be preferred' in Pindar.

Another matter of taste, in which it is impossible to lay down laws, is the translation of the opt. with *ὅν*. If the protasis is expressed or lies very near, then the rendering is fairly uniform. But if it is a potential, we have a wide range. The negative is regularly 'cannot,' the positive is often 'must,' not *ἀνάγκη*, not *δεῖ*, but simply the expression of moral assurance. So *οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη* (Hdt. 6, 63) 'he can't be mine,' *εἴσαν ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες* (Hdt. 1, 2) 'these must be or must have been Cretans'—to cite two familiar examples (see my

Just. Martyr Apol. I 4, 10). Comp. Plat. Apol. 28 C: φαῦλοι γὰρ ἂν τῷ γε σεῖ λόγῳ εἴεν, *They must be, must have been, sorry fellows, according to your account*, and for the periphrastic perf. opt. with ἂν Legg. 678 E, 753 E, 782 A, 880 E, 896 C and 896 D, the last of which passages is actually echoed by ἀνάγκη. And so I am not quite convinced that 'must come, cannot fail to come' for γένοιτ' ἂν (O 2, 20) is so utterly indefensible. The opt. with ἂν is constantly used as a warmer future, and the context shows that the result is a certainty:

λάθα δὲ πότμῳ σὺν εἰδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἂν.  
 ἐσλὼν γὰρ ὑπὸ χαρμάτων πῆμα θνήσκει  
 παλίγκοτον δαμασθέν.

Still, if any one prefers 'well may come,' I shall make no objection.

In my Introductory Essay I said: "The middle is no more causative than the active" (ci), a remark which may have been due to Mr. Fennell's favorite explanation of the middle as causative, and in O 5, 8 I was indiscreet enough to call ἐκάρυξε causative, and Mr. Fennell forthwith reminds me that it is not grammatically causative. The warning is doubtless well meant, but I wish Mr. Fennell had gone on to say that the causative use of both active and middle is extra-grammatical. Not so the reciprocal use of the middle, which Mr. Fennell cannot bring himself to recognize. The curious note of the first ed. on O 1, 95: ταχυντὸς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται, has disappeared, it is true, but instead of giving ἐρίζεται the reciprocal force that we find in μάχεται and the whole group, he contents himself with saying that ἐρίζεται is used in the same sense as the active, which is never very safe doctrine.

The 'short' subjunctive Mr. Fennell does not accept for Pindar, and in ὄφρα βάσομεν (O 6, 23 f.) he considers βάσομεν a future, for which he cites two passages from Homer, and not three, as I have done, and cites both of them incorrectly. Read Od. 4, 163 and 17, 6 f. In the same ode, v. 44, κνιζομένα I ventured to refer to the familiar passage in Plato's Theaetetus, 151 C, in which young mothers 'wax savage about their babies,' when they are taken away from them, and though the situation of Euadne, who is forced to leave her child, is not absolutely parallel, is the passage after all 'quite irrelevant and the idea utterly out of place'? Is it really an ἀνεμᾶϊον of mine or a *sic volo* of Mr. Fennell's?

O 8, 86 νέμεσιν διχόβουλον is rendered 'envy that divideth counsels,' which Mr. Fennell elicits from 'envy of divided counsels,' just as he elicits 'purifying' from καθαροῦ λέβητος of O 1, 26. The personification is stoutly impugned. "To pray that Zeus should not make Nemesis of divided mind would be equivalent to praying that Zeus should make Nemesis inflexible, which was unnecessary, or inflexible in bestowing blessings, which is not her function." Is there not a little too much *raison démonstrative* about this for the interpretation of poetry? To pray that the Goddess of Award should not be of divided counsels is to pray that she should always have a clear case in favor of the suppliants, ἀμφοὶ καλῶν μοίρα. Mr. Fennell repeatedly warns against over-analysis. If we were to analyze P 10, 43 f. as closely as he has analyzed this passage, we should elicit a joke out of φηγόντες—Νέμεσιν (= 'Ἀδράστειαν). For making νέμεσιν mere envy Mr. Fennell has, it is true, the support of that 'unsympathetic editor' Bergk. But whatever becomes of διχόβουλον, I must ask, as Gurlitt asked more than eighty years ago, 'Wie kann nun Nemesis hier blos Neid bezeichnen?'

The only passage in which Mr. Fennell attacks my English is in his note on O 11 73 (81), *παπαίθυσε*, and for this generosity I am duly grateful. One of my English critics said that my style was not very scholarly, but failed to particularize; another found fault with my use of 'aloofness,' but that was before the publication of AL in the Oxford Dictionary; another thought 'saliency' a horrid word,<sup>1</sup> and a chorus of indolent reviewers lifted up their ineffectual heels against the expression (Introductory Essay, xxxiii) 'an arrangement in God and Blood.' Was I to refer in a footnote to Mrs. Waterbrook in David Copperfield and to inform the world that I purposely made my phrase as crude as Pindar's youthful creed? So here Mr. Fennell tells me that 'flashing sound' is un-English. For that matter, *παπαίθυσε* as Pindar uses it is un-Greek, and by 'flashing sound' I intended to indicate the unwonted transfer from sight to sound. And after all, is 'flashing sound' any more unjustifiable than 'flashes of silence'—a *mot* that was successful in its day?

But I do not care to follow Mr. Fennell through all the passages—there are some scores—in which he arraigns the interpretations that I have accepted from others or haply struck out for myself. A reply to criticisms is apt to be sharper than the criticisms themselves, and what scholarly criticisms are, we can learn from Mr. Fennell himself. "The ill-natured criticisms and controversies of athletes," says Mr. Fennell in his Introduction to Ol. IX, "are now endless and probably have always been so. Scholarship, however, cannot in this particular vaunt itself over gymnastic." Perhaps there is a twinge of repentance discernible in this passing remark. At all events, I will not let Mr. Fennell's somewhat blunt expression of differences in details of interpretation interfere with my satisfaction at his approval of my general treatment of Pindaric composition; and in my hearty recognition of the services rendered to the study of Pindar by this new edition, to which I hope to return, I shall not be disturbed by the epithets 'idle,' 'rash,' 'fanciful,' 'far-fetched' and 'unsound' which he has bestowed on my exegesis. He who hears nothing worse from his brethren of the philological guild may count himself lucky. *θεός εἰη ἀπήμων κέαρ*, says the youthful Pindar, with an optative he might have learned from Hesiod. *ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν τὸ τεπνὸν ἀξεται*, says Pindar, the aged.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

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Der deutsche Satzbau, dargestellt von HERMANN WUNDERLICH. Stuttgart, 1892.

Believing that science ought, from time to time, to give an account of its progress to the general public, the author attempts a practical application of the latest detailed work in Germanics, in which he deals primarily with the sentence-structure of the modern period of the German language. He certainly deserves to be commended for his observance of the element of proportion, in keeping his historical foundation visible merely, instead of building it up so high as to be mistaken for the edifice itself. The student of German will realize that a work such as the one before us, however well

<sup>1</sup>"[The] pungent sayings [of W. H. Thompson] acquired their fame as much from the prominence of his position as from their own *saliency*."—C. Merivale in [English] Journal of Philology, XV 307.

executed, can be but temporary—resting, as it were, on such a foundation as detailed investigation has thus far been able to provide for it—imperfect in many respects, and scarcely begun on the Low-German side, where a well-developed syntax still awaits special study.

The work is divided into five chapters, viz. I. Verbs; II. Substantives; III. Adjectives; IV. Pronouns; V. Particles and Prepositions. In Chapter I Wunderlich disapproves of making the sentence synonymous with the logical proposition having a verb expressed or implied, and accepts the theory that the sentence is the primitive form of expression, which may, in the course of its development, be resolved into different parts of speech. Hence he concludes that the verb is not essential to the formation of a sentence. Excluding the infinitive and participles, which he regards as substantive and adjective respectively, he maintains that the verb can form a complete sentence only in the imperative, because in all other cases some substantive is required, and may be omitted only for stylistic effect.

In opposition to Erdmann, he rightly defends the native origin of the historical present, which he explains on psychological grounds, instead of ascribing it entirely to classical influence. In explanation of the double infinitive in compound tenses, he says (p. 53) that the real auxiliary verbs, which were properly preterit presents, were originally not employed in compound tenses. "Die eigentlichen Hilfsverba sind Praeterito-praesentia; vielleicht dass sie deshalb sich nicht dazu eigneten, *alleinige* Träger der Zeitanschauung zu werden, vielleicht auch mehr darum dass ihr Verbalgehalt dünner war als der von Verben wie hören und sehen. Jedenfalls ist der Unterschied da." Examples: (1) *wold in hân gehôret* and (2) *ich hân des hoeren jehen*. "Die alte Sprache hatte die Perfektschreibung am Verbum finitum durchgeführt (example 1), indem sie das Hilfsverb nur einfach in das Praeteritum kleidete." The compound tenses, he says, were first employed in the case of those auxiliaries that were not preterit presents, viz. *hören, sehen, lassen* and *heissen*, whose infinitive and perfect participle coincided in form, except *hören*, which he would explain by analogy to *sehen*. The prefix *ge* is then dropped by assimilation to the infinitive. This explanation is certainly a very ingenious one, and marks a decided advance in the solution of one of the most difficult problems in German grammar. One would like, however, to see statistical evidence produced for the influence of *sehen* on *hören*.

Wunderlich's theory of the 'excipirender Nebensatz' seems somewhat artificial and forced. On pp. 70-1 he says: "Meist ist diese unerlässliche Bedingung jedoch kein Ereignis das gewünscht wird, sondern im Gegenteil eines das gefürchtet wird, und deshalb bricht in den meisten Belegen die Negationspartikel als Ausfluss negativer Willenskraft durch (Tristan, *es enirre mich der tît*), bis sie konventionell auch in Fügungen herübergenommen wurde mit denen sie nichts zu schaffen hatte, so in Handschrift A des Armen Heinrich, *got enwelle der arzt wesen*." In sum and substance he asserts that the reading of MS B of the Armer Heinrich—*got welle dan der arzt wesen*—is the original idiom, while the negative in MS A has been introduced secondarily by analogy to those cases where the particle *ne* is an *Ausfluss negativer Willenskraft* effected by fear. The passages cited by the author do not indicate whether he has established his theory by statistical evidence. Nor



does he prove that the idiom in B is older than the one in A. Moreover, Middle High German examples will not suffice, for the Old High German is really indispensable here. But in Old High German we find the particle *ne* even in those *excipiendo Nebensätze* where there is no likelihood of its being due to the will of the speaker actuated by fear lest the statement be fulfilled. Erdmann's theory that *ne* here is the rule, while its loss in Middle High German is a secondary development, is much more probable. To fortify his statement, Wunderlich would have to give examples of the Old High German *excipiendo Nebensatz* without *ne* and not denoting fear on the part of the speaker, that are used at an earlier date, or at least not later than those with *ne*.

Eighteen pages of the work before us are devoted to the position of the verb in the sentence, and especially in the dependent clause. Wackernagel (Idg. Forschungen, I 333 ff.) believes that the actual difference between the principal and subordinate clause lies in the stress on the verb, and since the verb of the independent clause receives little stress, it gravitates toward a position immediately following the first word of the clause, where the intonation is weak. On the other hand, in the dependent clause, where the verb is stressed, it gravitates to the end, a more prominent position. From this theory Wunderlich justly demands a conclusive proof for the existence of this system of accent in case of German, where the *Nebensatz* follows the *Hauptsatz* instead of preceding it, as in Old Indian. He also insists on an explanation of this peculiar verb-stress, without which we have a mere *petitio principii* before us. On pp. 91, 92, 194 our author advances the following theory of his own: "Am Hauptsatz arbeiteten Bewusstsein und Sprache fast gleichzeitig; beim Nebensatz geht das erstere der zweiten vorher; d. h. der Hauptsatz baut sich in einzelnen Momenten auf, der Nebensatz schiebt nach Steinthal abgeschlossene Vorstellungsreihen dazwischen, mit denen der Hauptsatz als mit einer Einheit operiert. Schon hieraus ergibt sich die veränderte Rolle die das Verbum im Haupt- und Nebensatze spielt: im ersten ist es einfach ein Moment wie andere auch, das je nach den Umständen in der Stellung mit den andern wechselt, im Nebensatze aber ist es der Träger des Einheitsgedankens, die Unterlage aller Bestimmungen, die deshalb auch nach einem deutschen Gesetz . . . die Reihe schliesst. 1. Composita haben den Hauptbestandteil am Ende. 2. Periphrastische Conjugation hat den Träger der Bestimmung am Ende. 3. Attribut vor dem Substantiv." He does not show why the verb is of such primary importance in the dependent clause, nor does he reconcile his acceptance of the paramount importance of the verb here with the statement that the verb is not essential to sentence-formation. Again, it is an open question whether every dependent clause need be a premeditated and finished unit. Must *Bewusstsein* precede *Sprache* in the dependent clause? If we should suddenly ask a bystander who a certain person in front of us is, and point out some peculiarity by way of supplementing our question, that peculiarity may occur to us only after having put the question, when we realize that a further description is necessary. Such a dependent clause would not be a preconceived unit.<sup>1</sup> Now, is it not dogmatic

<sup>1</sup> The following illustration crossed my track while I was reading Mr. Ferren's review:

Who's yonder,  
That does appear as if he were flay'd? O gods!  
He has the stamp of Marcius: and I have  
Before-time seen him thus.—Sh., *Cor.* 1, 6.

—B. L. G.



to speak of the dependent clause as '*eine abgeschlossene Einheit*' when so many of them contain afterthoughts and descriptions formed in the mind of the speaker at the moment when he has just uttered the principal clause?

The two sections on 'Endstellung des Verbums im Hauptsatze' and 'Die Normaltypen des Hauptsatzes' agree in substance with Erdmann's last chapter. W. believes that an appositive noun has a tendency in German to become independent.

The section on the article shows the influence of Binz's review of Wunderlich's former work, 'Zur Syntax Luthers.' While the development of the definite article is very clearly presented, somewhat too much stress is laid on its importance as a 'Geschlechts- und Flexionswort,' and not enough on its actual function as an article, called by Erdmann 'Kennzeichnung des Individuums.' The influence of the definite article as producing changes in gender seems to have been largely overestimated, especially in case of such Low German masculines as became feminine in High German. In treating the indefinite article W. pays no attention to the intensive meaning of *ein* (= Eng. *unique*) in Middle High German.

On p. 146 he explains the double accusative with verbs like *lehren* as the subject and object accusative respectively of an implied infinitive. This smacks of class-room parsing. As for the development of the factitive predicate, he tells us that the constructions with and without a preposition were both common in Luther's language.

The grammatical subject *es*, according to Wunderlich, p. 180, originated from a neuter *object* pronoun which stood for a following *object* clause. "Wenn nun ein solches *es* vor *Subjectivsätze* trat war der Anstoss zu einem Vorläufer des Subjectes gegeben, vor allem in Sätzen wie *es ist unrichtig, dass; es ist ein Gerücht, dass; es geht ein Gerücht, dass;*" which (to follow up this line of argument) may in turn give rise to the further analogy *es steht ein Mann draussen*, where no *dass*-clause follows. The explanation is certainly very ingenious and more plausible than either Erdmann's or Grimm's.

W. calls attention to the fact that Luther preferred the stronger and fuller form of the demonstrative pronoun, without, however, excluding the other. In the relative clause of Luther he notices two important items: "1. Eindringen des Pronomens hinter denjenigen der ersten und zweiten Person. *Ich bin das lebendige Brot, ich do nidersteige vom Himmel*; later, *der ich vom hymel bin abgestiegen*. 2. Verdrängung des Demonstrativum durch das Indefinitum *welcher* beginnt . . . (ist aber) bei Luther fast nur in Anlehnung an Nomina verbreitet." In relative clauses Luther generally requires a demonstrative pronoun, and only rarely omits it, as English may do to-day, viz. *den ersten Fisch du siehst*. Wunderlich's chapter on the particles shows good philosophical reasoning with special reference to development. It is still an open question, however, whether *denn* and *dann* are masculine accusative forms corresponding to the neuter *das* (cf. also Behaghel's review of the present work in the *Literaturbl. f. Germ. u. Rom. Phil.*).

In conclusion it may be said that Wunderlich's book deserves a cordial welcome on the part of German scholars. It is especially valuable on account of the emphasis it lays on the period of Luther, a period hitherto sadly neglected. As for the examples quoted, Middle High German is well repre-

sented, while Middle Low German, on the other hand, is entirely disregarded. Rather too many examples are taken from the 18th-century literature and hardly enough from the present period.

Wunderlich is more philosophical and purely theoretical than Erdmann, who deals more with historical detail. While many of Erdmann's statements are better adapted to practical application, Wunderlich is much happier in his psychological reasoning. Our author has certainly done a great deal of collateral reading, and his work gives evidence of considerable originality, which we are the more ready to concede when we consider how scrupulous he has been in acknowledging his obligations to others.

The present volume shows that the author is thoroughly in touch with modern scholarship, and that he knows how to profit by the reviews of his earlier works, in carefully avoiding a repetition of mistakes made in the past.

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HARRY M. FERREN.

## REPORTS.

HERMES, 1892.

### I.

Aeneas Piccolomini, *Ad Sapphus carmen in Venerem apparatus criticus auctus*. P. has recently been examining MSS of Dionysius Halicarn. de compositione verborum, which work contains the seven stanzas of the hymn to Venus, pp. 173-9 of Reiske's edition. In surveying the MSS of this treatise at Rome, P. came across a Vatican codex No. 64 of the year 1270, and beside this one he collated, either directly or through friends, nineteen MSS, of which, however, twelve contain but the epitome of the treatise. The newly collated MSS (collated for the poem of Sappho alone, however) are at Rome, Florence, Milan and Venice. A *stemma* of antiquity, resp. of dependency, cannot as yet be given. Some important conjectures of other critics have been confirmed by MS authority. Piccolomini's text (pp. 7-10) presents the following variants from the text of Bergk, *Poetae Lyr. Graec.*, vol. 3 (4th ed.): l. 9 ὑπασδένξαισα, l. 10 ὠκεε στρόβω, l. 11 διννήντε, l. 17 κῶττι ἐμψ, l. 25 χαλέπαν, l. 26 μερίμαν.

G. Thiele, *Das Lehrbuch des Isokrates*. Did Isocrates leave a *τέχνη* at all? Thiele takes up all the references to a supposed *τέχνη* of Isocrates, and argues with much good sense and sound knowledge against the genuineness of all the so-called fragments of that work.

E. Thomas, *Eine Studie zu den Epikurischen Sprüchen*. Critical remarks on the collection of Epicurean sentences found in cod. Vatic. gr. 1950 and published by K. Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* X, pp. 191-9.

K. Bürger, *Zu Xenophon von Ephesus*. The *Ἐφεσιακά* of Xenophon differs from the other amatory tales of the same type in being for the most part conspicuously free from the usual rhetorical embroidery of this class, even to the point of dryness, and Bürger believes that the present form of these tales is due to an excerptor who shortened his original by copying some portions with little change and contracting others greatly, in the same way in which the two books of *Metamorphoses* by Lucius of Patrae were condensed into the *Λοβκιος ἡ ὄνος* preserved among the writings of Lucian.

U. Köhler, *Herakleides der Klazomenier*. This H. is the politician mentioned by Aristotle in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, c. 41 s. f., and Plato, *Ion*, 541 d. In 1887 an inscription was found in the Acropolis, containing a decree bestowing various honors upon a certain Herakleides. Foucart, publishing the inscription in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 163 sqq., identified this Herakleides with H. the Byzantian who figured in the Corinthian war-times. But Köhler believes that the H. mentioned is the Clazomenian, and that he served the interests of Athens in diplomatic matters, intervening between

Athens and Persia after the accession of Darius II, 424 or 423 B. C., the *προξενία* having been granted to Herakleides some twenty years earlier than the citizenship.

Th. Mommsen, Zum römischen Bodenrecht. I. Frontins Bodenkategorien. It was a public necessity to have official surveys made in the case of *agrorum adsignatio* or in the case of the letting of public lands. The habit was to measure out the land in squares or rectangular pieces. The surveyors' square, the *centuria*, is a fixed quantity of 100 *heredia*, containing 200 *iugera* of 120X240 feet. From the standpoint of the agrimensor there are three categories of ground or land: (1) private land, *ager divisus adsignatus coloniarum*, or (2) communal property, or (3) property of the Roman commonwealth, *ager arcifinius*. Private land requires not only the fixing of boundaries but *adsignatio* as well, whereas communal property requires the former only. We learn also from Frontinus how the imperial government ceded property rights to municipalities.

II. The marking of boundary-stones. Lack of space forbids a detailed report, but the analogy of surveying and of laying out a camp is particularly interesting; so also the etymology of *decumanus*, which term was used in surveying as well as in the *metatio castrorum*.

III. The field-chart of Arausio. The fragments of this chart are published by Hirschfeld in the C. I. L., vol. 12, No. 1244, with a supplement on p. 824.

IV. Colony and municipium. Mommsen insists that for centuries these types of communities differed as much from one another as e. g. the royal city of Magdeburg and the free city of Hamburg. After the social war there was an equalization of the two, the difference, if any, being only nominal. This is urged by Mommsen against the work of Max Weber, *Römische Agrargeschichte*, which Mommsen otherwise commends.

V. Critical notes on Frontinus. Under this heading Mommsen emphasizes the grave and sometimes hopeless difficulties of the text, and makes a number of emendations.

H. von Arnim, Ineditum Vaticanum. v. A. found in the body of a MS of Synesius (Vaticanus 435) an extra sheet containing an unpublished fragment. It is ascribed to Plutarch in the superscription (14th century), but that is probably a mere conjecture. The fragment seems to have been written by a Greek teacher of rhetoric residing at Rome. The language is interesting and the question of date is very much so; the elements of history, especially in the address of Κέσων, are sound, and even valuable.

Richard Wagner, Sostratos' Teiresias. Eustathius, p. 1665, 48 ff., gives an account of seven different metamorphoses of the seer Teiresias, and tells us that this account was taken from Sostratos' Teiresias, a *ποίημα ἐλεγειακόν*. With this so-called fragment as a basis, Wagner seeks to identify the author of the Teiresias, the Sostratos of Nysa mentioned by Strabo, XIV, p. 650, the Sostratos of the fragments collected by Müller, Hist. Gr. IV, p. 504 f., and the physician Sostratos, for whom see Wellmann, Hermes, 1891, pp. 321-50.

F. Knickenberg, Zur Anthologia Latina—Ueber das erste der beiden Hirtengedichte der Einsiedler Handschrift Nr. 266, S. 206.

Of the smaller papers (Miscellen) I mention Hude's Zur Urkunde bei Thucyd. V 47 (cf. Herbst in Hermes, 1890). The point in question is as to

what inferences should be drawn from the discrepancies noted between the text of the historian and the text of the corresponding document published in C. I. A. IV 14.

## II.

P. Stengel, Zu den griechischen Sacralalterthümern. *κάρπωσης* and *καρποῦν* in sacrificial language do not refer to fruit, but to offerings where complete destruction of the object sacrificed was practised. Festus' *prodiguae hostiae* (*hostiae quae consumuntur*) is possibly a translation of Greek *καρπώσεις*, *καρποῦμενα*.—*δεῖρτά* (Dittenberger, Sylloge, 373) shows that in this case, by way of exception, the animals to be offered to the nether divinities are to be skinned after the killing.

E. v. Borries, Die Quellen zu den Feldzügen Julians des Abtrünnigen gegen die Germanen. Ammianus had two sources for his account of these operations, which sources he worked up in such a manner that contradictions and abruptness may be detected even now. In some places the person of Constantius is treated with a certain measure of respect, while elsewhere malevolence and satire are palpable, suggesting a pagan source. Further on v. Borries gives parallels with Libanius, whose *λόγος ἐπιτάφιος ἐπ' Ἰουλιανῷ* he places about 363 A. D. Both Ammianus and Libanius, on the whole, use common sources, the former, however, being very careful, the latter working hurriedly; Libanius is an orator rather than an historian. Zosimus is next presented. His time is not yet settled with absolute certainty. Rühl (Rhein. Mus. 1891, p. 146) makes him a contemporary of the Emperor Anastasius (491–518 A. D.), claiming that Zosimus composed his work after 501. Zosimus's chief source was Eunapius, who wrote about 400 A. D. Parallels with Ammianus and Libanius afford very little in the way of tangible results. An *ὑπόμνημα* of Oribasius (physician of Julian) was probably used by Ammianus and Eunapius.

C. Trieber, Die *διαλέξεις*. This treatise had been considered the work of a sophist even by Valckenaer, and later by Mullach in the preface to his second volume of the fragments of the Greek phil., p. xxxiv a. Generally, however, this composition has been regarded as the work of a genuine Pythagorean, on account of the Doric dialect in which it is written. Bergk computes 388–385 B. C. as the time of composition, and Blass thought of Simmias of Thebes as the author. Lexical traces (p. 214) point to very early times in the history of Greek prose, as do the references to philosophical schools and literary men. Furthermore, the success of Sparta and the defeat of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian war are referred to as recent events. The author is a genuine representative of the old sophists in maintaining the impossibility of defining truth and falsehood, good and evil. The discussion about mnemonics and *πολυμαθία* smack of the influence of Hippias. The scepticism of the *διαλέξεις* is to be traced to the doctrines of Heraclitus of Ephesos.

G. Kaibel, Theokrits *Ἑλένης ἐπιθαλάμων*. K. claims that Theocr. XVIII was written in imitation of the Epithalamia of Sappho. "The poem of Theocritus (p. 258) is of the genuine Alexandrian type: it is intended to explain the origin of the *Ἑλένα δενδρόν* in the Spartan grove of plane-trees."



F. Dümmler, *Die 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* des Kritias. This is an ingenious and scholarly attempt to prove that Kritias, the leader of the Thirty, wrote a treatise entitled *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*. Dümmler starts out with a passage from Aristotle, *'Αθην. πολ.*, c. 6. Aristotle there defends Solon's memory against *οἱ βουλόμενοι διαβάλλειν*, i. e. against those who charged Solon with jobbery or with being responsible for the jobbery of some of his friends, to whom he disclosed the plan for the relief of debtors. Names and details are given in Plutarch, Solon, 15. These jobbers are called *χρεωκοπίδαι*. Dümmler thinks of the short era of the Thirty when the anti-democratic reaction flourished, and thinks particularly of Critias, of whom Aelian, V. H. 10, 17, definitely says that he charged Themistocles and Kleon with enormous embezzlement of public moneys. Cf. also the *τινές* (Aristotle, *'Α. π.* 9), who charged Solon with purposely investing many of his statutes in obscure verbiage, in order to allow unlimited liberty to the popular jury-courts. Cf. further Aristotle, *'Αθ. πολ.* 35 (of the Thirty) *καὶ τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφισβητήσεις εἶχον καὶ τὸ κύρος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν* . . . Going on, D. cites an apologetic passage from Isocrates, Paneg. §110, *τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν οἱ τῶν δεκαρχῶν κοινωνήσαντες* . . . The words in §113 seem even more unmistakably to point to Critias. The Epitaphios of Gorgias too was probably a defence of the democratic leaders of the fifth century, whereas Plato, Xenophon and other *Socratici* were driven into a position of implacable hostility towards the Attic democracy, on account of the execution of Socrates. It is impossible to do full justice to the suggestive and vivid presentation of Dümmler in the limits of this report: we must note, however, in conclusion, that Dümmler, p. 285, incidentally says that the report of Aristotle as to the share of Themistocles in the overthrow of the Areopagus is *untenable* (unhaltbar).

U. Wilcken, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Strategie in der Kaiserzeit*. This paper deals with matters relating to the provincial administration of Egypt. The *στρατηγοί* received their office for three years from the prefect. Romans were not excluded, v. Plinius Capito, C. I. G. 4955, and Papirius Domi, C. I. G. 4811. A *nomen gentile*, even though coupled with Greek or Asiatic names, indicates Roman citizenship; cf. Mommsen, *Stsr.* III 1, 200 sqq., 213. A recent acquisition among the Berlin papyri—probably of the date of Caracalla—contains the following passage (p. 290): *Αὐρήλιος Ζώσιμος πρὸ μὲν τῆς θίας (= θείας) δωρεᾶς καλούμενος Ζώσιμος Λεωνίδου*. The *θεία δωρεά* means 'imperial privilege' or 'patent.' The main purpose of this paper of W. is to present, from inscriptions and papyri, lists of *στρατηγοί*, generally with the districts to which they were appointed. After 212, if that was the year of the *Constitutio Antonina*, the *civitas* was a requisite for *στρατηγία*.

H. Kühlewein, Hippocratea.

F. Leo, Zum Culex.

Under *Miscellen* we note Emil Szanto, *Die Kleisthenischen Trittyen*. Cf. Aristotle, *'Αθ. πολ.*, c. 21, p. 69 Kenyon<sup>3</sup>. Each Phyle had three Trittyes, of which one belonged to Athens and its district, one to the interior, and one to the coast. Details are furnished by inscriptions.

E. G. SIHLER.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE (Jan.-Dec., 1892).<sup>1</sup>

Vol. XIX.

Pp. 1-102 contain the last part of M. Rubens Duval's 'History of the political, religious and literary development of Edessa prior to the first crusade' (A. J. P. XIII 254 f.). The author gives a very exact and interesting sketch of the inner history of that city, and of the development of the monophysite doctrines preached by Jacob Baradeus, which definitely broke the bonds that had thus far united the Church of Edessa with the Greek and Latin Church. The religious controversies called forth a vast literature, which gave to the Syriac its classic form. Prominent in this literature are the works of Stephen bar Šudhailē, the reviver of Pantheism in Syria, and contemporary with Jacob of Šērūgh and of Philoxenus of Mabbōgh. At the same time lived Joshua the Stylite, author of the Chronicle, preserved to us through the thoughtfulness of Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrī (died A. D. 845). Of real historical value is the anonymous *Chronicum Edessenum*, fortunately preserved in the Vatican MS CLXIII and edited by Assemani. Mention should also be made of a tripartite historical romance written by a monk of Edessa, a history of the Emperor Constantine and his three sons; of an account of Eusebius, bishop of Rome, and his sufferings at the hands of Julian the Apostate; and of a history of Jovian. In 616 Syria was subjugated for a brief period by the Persian Chosroes II, and for another brief period, 622-8, it was Byzantine again, the Emperor Heraclius having defeated the Persians. But the Jacobites, who were persecuted by Heraclius, considered it a great relief when, in 636 and the years immediately following, the Mohammedans conquered the country, and thereby brought to an end the Roman and Persian sway in the Orient. Mo'āwiya, the first Ommayad caliph, chose Damascus for his residence, but in 750 the capital of the empire was removed by the 'Abāsids to Baghdad. Among the most prominent hierarchs of Syria was Jacob of Edessa, author of the Hexameron and other works, and at the same time one of the best grammarians among Syriac writers.<sup>2</sup> There were fierce struggles in the following centuries among the Mohammedan dynasties for the possession of Syria, but throughout their course, Edessa and the country at large enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom and prosperity.

Pp. 103-50. M. Clermont-Ganneau has conceived the happy idea of opening his new courses on Semitic epigraphy and antiquities in the Collège de France with a resumé of the discoveries in that vast field during the year 1891. We are thus enabled, guided by a master's hand, to review in a small compass the results of the work done in Phoenician, Hebrew, Sabeian and Arabic epigraphy and inscriptions.

Pp. 189-200. The preliminary report of M. J. de Morgan on his mission to Persia and Luristan shows that the results of his investigations will be of the greatest importance for the history of linguistics, geography and archaeology of Western Persia. As the regions that the author has explored are especially those that have thus far been neglected by archaeologists, great expectations have been raised, and the detailed account is awaited with impatience.

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XIII 256.<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. V 211, 212.

Pp. 201-36. In 1883 M. S. Beal published, in the XIXth volume of the Sacred Books of the East, an English translation of the Fo-Sho-hing-Tsan-King, a life of Buddha (*Buddhakarita*), by Açvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A. D. 420. The original Sanskrit text had then not yet been edited, but, according to Sanskritists, it differed considerably, especially in the spelling of proper names, from the Chinese translation, which is an abridgment of the Lalita-vistara. The Sanskrit MS containing the original text is not complete, ending after the XVIIth song. M. Sylvain Lévi publishes in transliteration the headings of the seventeen songs and the first in full, with a translation into French, describing the birth of Bhagavat. The MS from which Lévi transcribes his text was written in 1830, by a scribe named Amṛtānanda. Hearing of Professor Cowell's intention to prepare a complete edition of the *Buddhakarita* in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, M. Lévi discontinues his work, begun so well.

Pp. 237-69. The civilized languages of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, or Farther India, are at present sufficiently known to us, or at least enough material has been gathered for a scientific study of these dialects. There remains, however, in the centre of the peninsula a mass of languages which have no literature and are spoken by the descendants of the ancient aboriginal population. Between the Thai, the Burmanese, Cambodian, Siamese and Annamite regions we find a linguistic chaos which remains to be sifted and classified. This group of languages or dialects contains some elements in common with the civilized languages surrounding them, due perhaps to a primitive common parentage. M. Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, a member of the 'Mission Pavie,' has spent eighteen months in the northern part of these regions of Indo-China, and he reports on fourteen distinct vocabularies. The mountains of Tonkin hide a linguistic problem which is analogous to that of the Caucasus, although it seems to be less complex and destined not to resist so long, if it be approached with patience and a sound philological method. M. Pontalis also announces, on p. 334, the gift by M. Pavie of sixteen MSS relating to the history, laws, civil and religious customs of the countries just mentioned, and publishes, on pp. 560-2, a list of the titles of these MSS.

Pp. 270-333, 499-555; vol. XX, pp. 233-75. M. Joseph Halévy continues and concludes his transliteration and translation of the correspondence of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, kings of Egypt in the fifteenth century B. C., with the kings of Babylonia, governors of Jerusalem, etc. (see A. J. P. XII 254, 380, XIII 254).

Pp. 378-407. M. Max van Berchem prints some further notes on Arabic archaeology, discussing the monuments and inscriptions of the Toulunides and the Fatimides of Cairo. This second article was called forth by the many valuable suggestions communicated to van Berchem after the separate publication of his first article on the same subject (*Journ. asiatique*, May-June, July-Aug. 1891; A. J. P. XII 381, XIII 254). The author takes up the inscriptions of the Mosque of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, and publishes the Arabic text, with translation into French and a philological commentary. The article closes with additional remarks on the monuments of the Fatimides, supplementary to his first article, referred to above.

Pp. 408-71. Abulwefa wrote an Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which, however, did not betray much originality, except in the chapter on trigonometry. This Arabic treatise was carefully studied by the late M. Marcel Devic, of Montpellier. After his death, in 1893, his notes on this treatise passed into the hands of M. L. Rodet, who, in turn, gave it to M. le Baron Carra de Vaux. C. de V. publishes the notes of M. Devic, with

numerous additions of his own. The *Almagest* (المجسطى = ὁ μέγιστος)

of Abulwefa contained three parts, of which the first treats the subject of trigonometry, the second the application of trigonometrical formulae and similar observations, the third the theory of the planets, including the moon. Such is the division given by its author. As a matter of fact, however, the first part begins with four chapters on general cosmography, trigonometry being taken up with the fifth chapter. This chapter is perhaps the most important and original part of Abulwefa's work, and M. de Vaux reproduces it in French with explanatory notes. The treatise on the motions of the moon belongs to part III, but the Arabic MS (No. 1138 du supplément arabe à la Bibliothèque nationale) has suffered very much. It contained discourses 6, 7 and 8, of which half of No. 6, parts of No. 7 and the whole eighth discourse are lost. It is therefore rather difficult to gain an exact knowledge of the ideas of the Arabic author. M. de Vaux takes up, in particular, the account of the motion of the moon. He points the Arabic text and gives a translation into French. This is followed by an interesting account of the heated discussions which arose, over this part of the MS, in the French Academy, from 1836-42, between MM. Sédillot and Libri, with reference to the question whether the 'variation of the moon' had indeed been discovered by Abulwefa in saec. X, i. e. so many centuries before Tycho Brahe made the same discovery. The controversy turned on the interpretation of the terms *taslith* and *tasdis* as third and sixth octants. M. de Vaux explains the former as 'trisection.' The closing words of M. de Vaux's long article are worth quoting in full: "À Tycho-Brahe appartient la gloire entière, car jamais il ne put avoir sous les yeux aucun écrit d'un astronome arabe contenant une première découverte de la variation; à Ptolémée ou à ses prédécesseurs l'honneur d'une théorie plus exacte qu'on ne le croit généralement, et où la troisième anomalie lunaire est en germe; à Abū'wēfa et à ses compatriotes bien peu de chose en la question, tout au plus le mérite d'observations répétées mais stériles, capables de confirmer la science et non de l'avancer."

Pp. 472-98. M. E. Senart furnishes another instalment of his studies in Indian epigraphy (A. J. P. XII 252), publishing three new inscriptions of Açōka-Piyadasi which were discovered by Mr. Lewis Rice, chief of the archaeological bureau at Mysore. The original text is hewn into the rocks on the central plateau of the Dekhan, thus showing that Indian civilization was established in the southern part of India from the third century B. C. The inscriptions do not contain any new features differing from those discovered since 1877 (see e. g. A. J. P. X 488). M. Senart gives a number of geographical notes on the edicts, with text emendations and restorations, and then discusses, in particular, the new portion of the edict of Brahmagiri.



Vol. XX.

Pp. 5-38. Minutes of the annual meeting of the Society; report of the financial secretary, and list of the members, and the works published under the auspices of the Society.

Pp. 39-138. M. James Darmesteter presents to the Society his biennial report on the progress of Oriental learning in France. It mourns the loss of several prominent members, of whom the best known is M. Max de Rochemonteix, author of the well-known 'Stories from Berber' (A. J. P. XI 250 f.). Among foreign members deceased are Father Gorresio and Miss Amelia Edwards. Tribute is also paid to the memory of three great scholars who were not members of the Society, viz. Eduard Reuss, the veteran Biblical scholar at Strassburg, M. Henry Duveyrier and Rabbi Isidore Loeb, well known to the readers of the *Revue des études juives*. M. Darmesteter then gives short but clear summaries of the works published by French scholars, whether in book-form or articles, reviews or notes. High praise is justly bestowed upon M. Ph. Berger's *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1891) and upon the short histories of MM. Maspero and S. Reinach. The rest of the report is divided into the eight groups: (1) India and Indo-China, special mention being made of M. Sylvain Lévi and M. Victor Henry's work<sup>1</sup>; (2) Persia and Afghanistan; (3) Phoenicia, Judaea and Syria, epigraphy and antiquities; (4) Biblical criticism and later Jewish history; (5) Arabia and the Mussulman world, including Morocco and the Sudân; (6) Assyria, the Gudêa inscriptions and the El-Amarna tablets still engaging the interest of scholars; (7) Egypt, and (8) China, Annam and Japan.

Pp. 139-56. M. Abel de Michels contributes an article on the Chinese poem *Bach Tû*, or 'the white mouse,' an Annamite morality play. The author, a Chinese Lafontaine, following the custom of his country, published the story anonymously. It refers to the period from A. D. 1226-1407, when the dynasty of the Tràn ruled over Annam, and is a picture of the condition of life at the time when the poet wrote his poem. In its original form it must have been a satire on Hô-quily, in whose house the scene was laid. A pious hypocrite, he had by his intrigues usurped the Annamite throne in A. D. 1406, but was soon after captured by the invading Chinese.

Pp. 157-66. M. H. Derenbourg believes that the word אלה occurring in line 5 of a Minnean inscription means 'Allah' = God + } of the determinate state (or postpositive article). In these inscriptions from Yemen the word is still the proper name of a special god. On pp. 325-6 M. Halévy prints some further observations on this word.

Pp. 167-75. M. A. Foucher speaks of the Buddhāvātāra, or the IXth of the ten parts of the Daçāvātārakarita ('history of the ten avatārs') of Kshemendra, which explains the life of Buddha to be an avatār (incarnation) of Vishnu.

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of Henry's *Livre XIII de l'Atharva-Veda*, M. Darmesteter says (p. 57): "Un juge plus compétent que moi M. Bloomfield (*Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda*, IVth Series, A. J. P. XII 429-43) a rendu hommage à la précision de la traduction, au soin et à l'entente avec lesquels M. Henry a rapproché tous les passages parallèles de la littérature védique, à la prudence et au bonheur qu'il apporte dans la critique du texte et nous ne pouvons que nous associer au souhait exprimé par le savant américain que M. Henry consente à nous donner sa traduction tout entière."



Pp. 185-232. M. L. Feer. Buddhistic views on Hades and the life after death, being a description of the religious belief in India concerning the suppliants in Hades, the crimes for which they are punished and the duration of their punishment. The generic names for the lower worlds are 'Naraka' and 'Niraya.' There are sixteen great and as many small hells, the great ones being divided into eight hot and eight cold places, to which the wicked are condemned according to the character of their crimes. Feer then discusses the sixteen smaller underworlds, all of which have the most appropriate designations, such as the black-pebble hell, the bubbling-filth hell, the freezing-cold hell, etc., to each of which are assigned different classes of sinners and transgressors, among whom adulterers and the like are especially selected for horrible punishments. The duration of the punishment is of the greatest importance, and is discussed at length for each category and class.

Pp. 305-17. M. Max van Berchem addresses a letter to M. Barbier de Meynard relative to the plan of a new 'corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum.' There are to be three divisions: (1) The pre-Islamite inscriptions, (2) those dating from the Mussulman dynasties, and (3) private inscriptions.

#### Nouvelles et Mélanges.

Vol. XIX, pp. 151-88. M. Pognon communicates a trilingual funeral inscription in the Ouïgour, Arabic and Syriac languages which he found in a Jacobite convent and dates to A. D. 1299; on pp. 336-42 M. P. publishes additional notes and an exact facsimile reproduction of the inscriptions. M. L. Feer adds some observations, and M. Halévy prints a new translation and interpretation (vol. XX, 291-2), differing in many points from that of

M. Pognon.—According to M. R. Duval the Arabic <sup>فطر</sup>فطر (qutrub) is but a mutilated transcription of the Greek *κυνάνθρωπος*, through the mediation of Syriac *qanṭropos*.—M. J. Halévy defends against M. Berger (*Histoire de l'écriture*, 330) his interpretation of the funeral inscriptions of Berber and of the proper names in *a*, which he had first discussed in his 'études berbères' (*Journal asiatique*, 1874, I 95 ff.).—M. B. de Meynard reviews Ch. Wells's *The Literature of the Turks* (London, 1891, xix+272 pp.). The book contains selections of the Ottoman literature of the last three centuries, and is a laudable undertaking. But it is scarcely pardonable of Wells to ignore or, still worse, to be ignorant of the excellent work done in this line in England, France and other countries, by such men as Redhouse, Bianchi and Pavet de Courteille. This ignorance deprives Wells of much useful material. His texts are neither correct nor his translations acceptable.—The same reviewer bestows high praise upon the excellent edition of *Recueil des poésies de Bayezid, II* (Constantinople, 1891).—Adolf Neubauer's *Petite grammaire hébraïque* provenant du Yémen, texte arabe, is considered by M. R. Duval a very excellent piece of work. It seems to be the original of the Hebrew text which was published by M. J. Derenbourg (*Journ. as.* 1870, vol. XVI, 309-50).—M. Moïse Schwab describes a Hebrew MS of the Bibliothèque nationale à Paris, No. 1333, which dates from saec. XIV and shows the Oriental vocalization. Of great interest is a prayer, found at the end of the MS, in the Jewish-German jargon written in Hebrew characters.

Pp. 334-76. M. Drouin entertained the Society with a talk on some coins from Central Asia belonging to the fifth century of our era. One of the words occurring on these coins he reads *xodāt*, a title of the sovereigns of Transoxiana (Sogdiana). M. Darmesteter believes the word to be a compound of *xat* and *dat*.—M. G. Devéria has a very favorable notice of P. Antonini's *Le Chang-Ti et le T'ien dans l'antiquité*, i. e. 'the Great Spirit of Heaven and Earth and the spirit' (Paris, 1891), and of M. C. de Harlez's *Les Religions de la Chine* (Leipzig, 1891). The latter work consists of four distinct parts, treating (1) the official religion practised by the first Chinese of all classes at least down to the second century before our era, but now only by the 'fils du ciel' and his lieutenants; (2) Taoism, whose founder was Lao-tze; (3) Buddhism of the North, and (4) the actual religion of the people, composed of all sorts of beliefs and superstitions.—The beautiful book of M. Philippe Berger, *L'histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1891), deserves the high praise bestowed upon it by M. R. Duval (p. 361 ff.) and by M. Clermont-Ganneau (p. 117). It is an admirable book and remarkably cheap.—M. Drouin reports on two collections of coins and statues bequeathed to the Society by MM. W. H. Scott and E. S. Ariel in 1855 and '56.

Pp. 370-2, 564-6. M. J. Halévy. The Hebrew name of the Thebais, פְּתֹרַם, is rarely mentioned in the Bible, and has thus given rise to some peculiar mistakes of the scribes, e. g. in Jerem. 44, 15, where we should read פְּתֹרַם or פְּתֹרַם, as well as in verse 1, אֶרֶץ נִשְׁן וּבְאֶרֶץ פְּתֹרַם (Gen. 46, 28) or אֶרֶץ רַעְמָסֶס (ibid. 47, 11). On the other hand, in Ezek. 27, 10 and 38, 5 the original פְּתֹרַם was changed into פְּרֹם.—The Old Testament בַּעַל־חֲמֹן is = Baal or Lord of Mount Amanus, חֲמֹן (= Assyrian *Ḫamānu* = Ἀμανός) being derived from חָמָם 'black.' It is the μαῦρον ὄρος of the Byzantine authors. The modern name of Marash is identical with Assyrian 'Marqasi,' the name of the capital of the country of Gamgum. The Hamathean city Ellitarbi is the Ἀτραπία of the Greeks.

Pp. 373-6. M. O. Houdas recommends Bel Kassem ben Sedira's two books: (1) *Cours pratique de langue arabe*, and (2) *Cours de littérature arabe* (Alger, 1891).—M. Moïse Schwab briefly mentions the second edition of Rabbi M. Ennery's *Dictionnaire hébreu-français* (Paris, 1891) and Fürst's *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum* (Strassburg, 1891).

Pp. 562-4. M. Drouin speaks very highly of Stanley Lane Poole's *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weight in the British Museum*, edited by R. S. Poole (London, 1891), and M. B. de Meynard reviews R. Youssouf's *Grammaire complète de la langue ottomane* (Constantinople, 1892) and Lehdjé-i-Osmani (Constantinople, 1890-92), a new edition of the well-known dictionary of Ahmed Vefyky Pasha.

Vol. XX, pp. 176-84 contain reviews by Carra de Vaux of *Traité du Quadrilatère*, attribué à Nasiruddin-el-Toussy, 1200-73 A. D., traduit par A. Caratheodory (Paris, 1891, 371 pp., 8vo), and by R. Duval of *Hyvernat and Mueller-Simonis's Relation des missions scientifiques* (Paris et Lyon, 1892, 628 pp.)

Pp. 279-304 contain a number of interesting notes, e. g. the funeral oration over M. Ernest Renan, president of the Society since 1884, by M. Barbier de

Meynard.—Father Scheil (*Journ. as.* XVI 336; *A. J. P.* XII 383) first suggested that the 'men of Judah' were mentioned in letter No. 39 of the Berlin collection of the El-Amarna Tablets (Winckler and Abel, II, p. 46). M. A.-J. Delattre, however, shows convincingly that this is not so, *ša-u-du* (as he reads) being the third person plural preterite of a verb *šāw*, meaning 'they have witnessed.'<sup>1</sup>—Of reviews there is one by M. E. Drouin of Ismaïl Ghālib Edhem Bey's *Traité des monnaies de Seljoucides* (Constantinople, 1892, xxvi + 143 pp.), and by M. L. Feer of W. W. Rockhill's *The Land of the Lamas* (London, 1891, 399 pp.).—M. B. de Meynard compliments Professor E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, upon the publication of *A Traveller's Narrative* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1891) and mentions V. Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes* (Liège, 1892).

Pp. 326-38. M. Cl. Huart severely criticises *Le moyen de parvenir à la connaissance de la langue des Turcs, texte arabe d'Abou-Hayyān, publié par Moçtafā-bey* (Constantinople, 1891, 213 pp.); M. C. de Harlez treats of the nationality of the people of Tcheou, and M. S. Lévi of Arjuna, the successor of Harṣa Çilāditya, the famous contemporary of Hiouen-Tsang; while M. de Meynard recommends the Turkish translation by Adda Fredj of the fables of *La Fontaine* (Constantinople, 1893).

Pp. 341-540. General index to the VIIIth series of the *Journal asiatique* (1883-92).

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#### RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XLVI, Fascicles 3 and 4.<sup>2</sup>

Pp. 343-8. F. Vollmer. Quintilian wrote the 'de causis corruptae eloquentiae' in A. D. 92; the 'institutio oratoria,' composed by him in A. D. 95, was published by Trypho the following year, on the 18th of September.

Pp. 349-70. K. Dziatzko shows that there exists between the Prolegomena in Aristophanis *ἐτέρα ἀρχή* of Joh. Tzetzes and the Plautus scholion on the Alexandrian Libraries, a closer relationship than has usually been supposed. The scholion, however, rests on a better text of Tzetzes than we have at present. The tract *περὶ κωμωδίας* published in Cramer's *Anecdota Paris. I* (1839) 3-10 is not the source of the introductions of Tzetzes, but rather an abstract from them, at least as far as the remarks on the Alexandrian Libraries and the recensions of Homer are concerned. The *βιβλοὶ συμμιγεῖς* of the Alexandrian Library were rolls containing beginning or end of several parts of one or more works, while *βιβλοὶ ἀμυγεῖς καὶ ἀπλᾶι* designated rolls containing only one work as a whole, or the main part thereof.

Pp. 371-7. M. Ihm. The Codex Riccardianus 1179, together with the Codex rescriptus Vindob. 16 (saec. V or VI), are the only sources thus far known of the original Latin text of the *Ars medicina seu veterinaria* of Pelagonius.

<sup>1</sup> See also A. H. Sayce in *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. V, pp. vi-vii, and M. Jastrow in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XII 61-72.

<sup>2</sup> See A. J. P. XIV 392.

Pp. 378-419. Comparing the new fragments of the Bibliotheca Apollodori (see pp. 161-92; A. J. P. XIV 394) with the Epitome Vaticana (on which compare Rhein. Mus. XLI 134-50; A. J. P. X 238), R. Wagner points out their great importance for the criticism and restoration of the Bibliotheca, especially as regards the fourth book, and also our knowledge of Greek mythology. On p. 618 Wagner determines the locality of the demos Icaria and of Mount Icarion.

Pp. 420-5. F. Marx. Notwithstanding the immature and foolish close of the Rhetorica ad Herennium, it is yet a genuine work, a σχολικὸν ὑπόμνημα, and not spurious, as has been, since Gruter, generally assumed. A note to p. 424 is printed on p. 636, and on pp. 606-12 the same writer maintains that the deviations from classical diction found in this work are characteristic peculiarities of the author.

Pp. 426-65. It is impossible to ignore the fact that not a few highly competent scholars hesitate to accept the 'Αθ. πολ. as a work of Aristotle; thus, e. g., Herwerden, F. Cauer, H. Richards and, above all, Fr. Rühl, who maintains, in an article printed in these pages, that the edition of Mr. Kenyon is not identical with the 'Αθ. πολ. quoted by ancient authors as a work of Aristotle. Many historical statements that are not otherwise supported by ancient tradition are open to grave suspicions. [Rühl's objections were met by Gomperz in a polemical pamphlet, 'Die Schrift vom Staatswesen der Athener und ihr neuester Beurtheiler' (Vienna, 1891), to which Rühl forthwith replied in 'Der Staat der Athener und kein Ende' (reprint from the XVIII. Supplementband of Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, 1892, pp. 675-706). Most scholars, however, have declared themselves, against Rühl, in favor of the Aristotelian authorship; cf. Lit. Centralblatt, 1892, No. 21, 754; Wochenschr. f. klass. Phil. 1892, No. 35, and especially Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, 1892, Nos. 41 and 42. The great storehouse, in future, will be the excellent edition of the 'Αθ. πολ. by Sandys (1893).]

Pp. 465-80. C. Wachsmuth. The biographical work of Timagenes περί βασιλέων was one of the main sources of Trogus for his 'universal history.' The general plan of the work, however, was his own conception, as well as a number of quotations from and references to Greek writers consulted by him independently of Timagenes.

Pp. 480-96. L. Enthoven emends Appian, de bello civ. II 11 ἐκέντρον for ἐπένδουν and ἀμ' ἦσση instead of ἀλλ' ἦσσης; II 50 πάντες τε οἱ εὐ φρονούντες, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὅπη ποτ' ἂν <ἐχ>ωσιν ἡγοῦνται πατρίδα.—J. E. Kirchner on 'Απολλόδωρος Πασίωνος Ἀχαρνεύς (Dem. XLV 28, 46).—O. Immisch. The carinus of the Pompeian wall-inscriptions (C. I. L. IV 2400 *ad*) is mentioned in the Anthol. Palat. II 608 (Duebner). Διομήδη is the name of a woman, not that of the hero Diomedes.—G. Gundermann. The chronological glosses of the Codex Monacensis lat. 14, 429 (Rhein. Mus. XXII 442 ff.) are based on Jerome's Chronicle, a fact depriving, among others, also the passage on Lucretius of the value of an independent witness. The words 'Solinus sub Octaviano fuit' are to be corrected to 'Iulius Hyginus sub Octaviano fuit.'—M. Manitius believes the 'carmina minora' of Dracontius to have been used largely by later authors, e. g. Fortunatus, Hildebert of Le Mans, Sedulius,



etc.—M. Ihm emends and interprets Vegetius Mulomed. III 60, 1, and E. Pernice shows that the early Italian pound is preserved in a few old specimens, weighing 10 ounces.

Pp. 497–510. H. Swoboda discusses the character and contents of the inscriptions published in vol. VIII of the *Antiquities of Pergamum*, edited by Max Fränkel; they are mostly decrees and resolutions of the public assembly.

Pp. 511–27. E. Bethe begins a series of studies in Vergil, discussing the Laocoon episode. There are two separate traditions regarding this episode, found in Vergil side by side, and at times crossing each other. According to the older tradition Sinon plays but a secondary part, Apollo being the principal actor; according to the younger version Sinon is the principal instigator of the plan enacted upon by the Greeks. Vergil had originally selected the younger version, according to which the deliberation on the wooden horse occurred near the seashore. Later on he decided to make use also of the older tradition, and he composed the two passages ll. 40–56 and 199–233, according to which the deliberation took place in front of King Priam's palace.

Pp. 528–51. K. Tümpel. Poseidon-Brasilas of Cos in Athens. The explanation by Pausanias, I 2, 4, of the equestrian javelin-thrower in the statuary group near the Demeter temple at Athens is correct; it represents Poseidon's victory over Polybotes, the giant of Cos. The ἄλλος of the inscription on the monument, as quoted by Pausanias, refers to the word *βρασίλας* = *ἐννοσίχθων*, an epithet of Poseidon on Cos (Theocr. VII 11) not known to the archaeologist, who uses ἄλλος in its stead.<sup>1</sup>

Pp. 552–6. C. Wachsmuth examines the two new fragments of the Homeric of Crates of Mallos, discovered among the meagre scholia of the Codex Genevensis, 44, to B. XXI of the Iliad, which were published recently by M. Jules Nicole (2 vols., Genève, 1891).

Pp. 557–76. C. v. Jan. The monograph of Bacchius contains two distinct treatises on harmonics, viz. §§1–58 and 67–88, while §§59–66 and 89–101 are appendices to parts I and II. The second appendix is again divided into three parts, of which the first, §§89–92, preserved in a very mutilated form, is an abstract from a metrical handbook similar to that of Choeroboscus. The second, §§93–8, shows a rhythmic character and points to the school of Aristoxenus; while the third, §§99–101, on which two authors had worked together, belongs to the school of the *συμπλέκοντες*, who combine rhythmic and metric. Though several hands can be discerned in the original composition, the final redactor has revised the whole, so that *ῥυθμός*, *βάσις*, *ἄρσις*, *ἡγεμών*, κτλ. have the same meaning throughout.

Pp. 577–82. C. Hosius communicates the results of an examination of 21 Italian MSS of Propertius, which shows that the marginal notes of Politianus (Poliziano) are based on MS collations made by the great Italian scholar.

Pp. 583–98. E. Fabricius. On the history of the second Athenian confederation. The list of the members (*σύνμαχοι*) of this confederation (C. I. A.

<sup>1</sup> *Βρασίλας* is a compound of *βρασι-*, from *ὑβρά-* (cf. *βεβράσθαι* = *ὠθεῖσθαι*, *βρασμός* γῆς = *σεισμός* γῆς), and *-λας* = *λας*, *λάας*, thus = *σεισί-χθων*, *ἐννοσί-γαιος*



II 17) contained in l. 15 a name that was erased at an early date. Fabricius suggests the name of Jason of Pherae, who became a member in 375 B. C. and left again between 373 and 371 B. C. The names are engraved in groups by several hands, showing that the membership increased only gradually.

Pp. 599-605. A. v. Domaszewski. Notes on the history of the government of the Roman provinces. III.<sup>1</sup> Agricola introduced, in the second year of his proconsulate, the new jurisdiction over Brittany (*Tac. Agric. 21*), with a *iuridicus* at the head of legal affairs. About the same time the military force in that province was reduced, the *legio II adiutrix*, stationed there by Vespasian, being removed thence and appearing subsequently, under Domitian, in Pannonia, with *Acumincum* (Slankamen) and, later, *Aquincum* as garrisons. The '*legatus Augustorum provinciae Britanniae*' of C. I. L. IX 5533 = Wilm. 1151, is the earliest mention of the *iuridicus Britanniae* (C. I. L. V 6794), both designating one and the same official. It is most probable that after the removal of the *legio II* the *legatus iuridicus* took the place of the fourth *legatus militum*, now vacated.

Pp. 613-36. O. Immisch. On the *Melampodia*, *Apoll. Bibl. IV 6, 7, 7*.—J. M. Stahl. The psephisma of Demophantus (*Andoc. de myst. §§96-9*) is an old fragment of a Solonian law with some later additions.—V. Gardthausen. The inscription on p. 27 of Schliemann's *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im J. 1890* (Leipzig, 1891) does not refer to Emperor Tiberius, as the author thought, but to Augustus, dating about 742 A. U. C., *i. e.* 12 B. C.—M. Ihm prints variant readings to Priscian's *Institutiones*, preface, from the *Codex Angelicanus T. 618* (membr. saec. XII/XIII, 4to).—M. Manitius examines the final syllables of the hexameter in later Latin poetry, from Lucretius to the *Aenigmata Eusebii*, and finds that the monosyllabic decreases in general, with the exception of the Christian poets, with whom the reverse is the case. The tetrasyllabics, used originally only in the case of proper names, are found in some measure by Christian poets also with other words; the pentasyllabics too having considerably increased among these Christian writers.—E. Pernice shows, from several specimen weights found in Pompeii, Rome and Aquileia, that the Italian mina (*μνᾶ Ἰταλική*) of 491 gr. was used as an equivalent of the Roman pound.—F. B. discusses the general character of the *mimiambi* of Herodas, proposes a number of emendations, and publishes a revised text of the first *mimiamb*.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. XLV 1-10, 203-11; A. J. P. XII 372.

## BRIEF MENTION.

The volume on *Aelian* is not the least interesting part of SCHMID's *Atticismus*, the first volume of which was noticed in this Journal, IX 98. Every one calls Aelian a scribbler, and yet every one is glad to use Aelian's material, and we should all miss his contributions to the *chronique scandaleuse* of both man and beast. Cobet is perfectly safe in sneering at his Atticism (see A. J. P. V 537, VI 517), and yet the unprejudiced modern must admit that he is not a bad story-teller. But many of the post-classic people are good story-tellers, perhaps because they have the bad taste to be so much like us, and it is precisely to this faculty of story-telling that Schmid, a pupil of Rohde's, has called attention in this volume, and the interest of the book lies in his attempt to prove that Aelian is an important representative, or rather successor, of those who introduced the *fabula Milesia* of the people into literature. It is Aelian and those whom he follows that anticipated the *contes drolatiques* and the *picaresco* romances that we associate with Decameron and Heptameron, with Mendoza and Quevedo. The piebald style of Aelian, over which Cobet makes so merry, is, according to Schmid, the piebald style of the *fabula Milesia* tempered by rhetorical methods, and its simplicity is an artificial simplicity that is made to carry a real *ποικιλία*. Of this manufactured simplicity in narrative the Greek rhetoricians have much to say, notably Aristides, in his treatise *περὶ ἀφελοῦς λόγου*, a treatise which, in my judgment, is too much neglected and which the student of Xenophon cannot afford to neglect, and from Aristides we can learn how Aelian must have gone to work in order to learn the story-teller's art. According to Schmid's analysis, Herodotos, whose influence on the literature of the period it would be hard to overestimate, furnished the model of simplicity; Xenophon, the lunar rainbow of Herodotos, furnished the Attic dialect; Plato supplied the conversational turns; the *fabula Milesia* the improprieties, and the firm of Stoic and Cynic the moralizing which illuminates the gruel 'thick and slab' of Aelian's style. In Cobet's characterization of Aelian stress is laid on his Latinisms (comp. A. J. P. XIV 106), but on this point Schmid touches only here and there. In a book crowded with infinite details it would be very easy to find occasional slips, but the work has its value, as well as its interest, for students of the Greek of every period, and it is evident that Schmid is getting a firmer hold of his subject as he goes on, and one could only wish that the less trodden parts of pure Attic literature had received as much attention as Schmid has bestowed on Aelian. But while one is willing to grant that Schmid has made respectable progress in a most difficult undertaking, still it must be said that he betrays the danger of attacking any sphere of post-classic Greek without the mastery of what lies before. So in the second volume of his *Atticismus* (p. 60) Schmid makes the suggestion that the Alabandian rhetoricians, Hierokles and Menekles, famous men in Cicero's boyhood (Brutus 95, 325), may have given

vogue to the *σολοικισμός* 'Αλαβανδιακός, i. e. the solecistic use of *μή* for *οὐ* (A. J. P. I 46). But instead of following this up, he contents himself with telling us that Arrian was not guiltless in this respect. As if any one expected anything else of Arrian! The first lines of the *Anabasis* show that. Much more to the point would have been the study of the writers immediately preceding Christ, who might be supposed to have felt the Alabandian wave. And sure enough, Diodorus, who belongs to that period, gives us all the instances one can reasonably ask. Not to waste time, I cite from two books only, XII and XIII, without any pretence of having exhausted the examples even in these two: XII 49 (vol. II, p. 142, 31, Teubner ed.), 56 (p. 149, 17), 83 (p. 178, 5); XIII 11 (p. 190, 17), 17 (p. 196, 12), 59 (p. 243, 16), 61 (p. 246, 22), 78 (p. 265, 11), 99 (p. 291, 4), 100 (p. 292, 29), 106 (p. 298, 24).

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Any one at all familiar with the run of post-classical Greek must have been surprised at the confident tone with which it has been stated that the dual practically died the death in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. The very existence of the late form *δνείν* should have checked that statement. It is true that in a sense the dual was dead, but it would be a hard question to determine how much of late Greek is true survival, how much is literary ghost, and if the late dual is a mere sham, or a mere *schemen*, so is much else that is allowed to have a real life in the very unreal world of Hellenistic literature. Indeed, as to the classic authors themselves, there is good reason to suspect a certain artificiality about the use, especially in Plato, whose employment of the dual stands in striking contrast to that of Aristophanes, as Roeper pointed out long ago; and the large use of the verbal forms in the later stage of the Attic orators is not altogether canny. The seat of the dual should be in the substantive, and not in the adjective, where Plato puts it, nor in the verb. It is this evidence of artificiality in the good period that adds a special interest to Dr. HERMANN SCHMIDT's contribution to the *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen*, which bears the title *De duali graecorum et emoriente et reviviscente* (Breslau, Wilhelm Koebner, 1893). After a brief introduction, in which he sums up the results of his predecessors, Dr. Schmidt proceeds to his proper task, the exhibition of dual forms in writers of the post-classic period, from Aristotle to Dion Chrysostomos, the latter of whom is wrongly credited by Christ (Müller's Hdb. VII<sup>2</sup>, p. 597) with having revived a form which was the common property of all the later Atticists (Schmid, *Atticismus*, I 87; see also III 46). Not to go into details, the tables show a progressive decline of the dual from Aristotle to Diodoros, and a gradual rise from Dionysios of Halikarnasos on. The range of words is limited. Conspicuous are *δνοῖν*, *ἀμφοῖν*, *χεροῖν*, *ποδοῖν*. The nom.-acc. forms *ὀφθαλμῶ*, *χεῖρε*, *πόδε* are not resurrected until the time of Dionysios. Of dual verb-forms there is merely a trace, so that decay of the dual is more organic, if one dare say so, than in the classic times.

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In the *Prolegomena* to the first volume of his critical edition of *Dion Chrysostomos* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1893) VON ARNIM says: *Pauci admodum ad hunc*

scriptorem accedere [solent], dignum imprimis qui ab omnibus legatur. Of course, one always expects an editor to magnify his author. At all events, very few treat those, whom they think it worth while to edit, so scurvily as Naber has treated poor Fronto, for which warm-hearted old African I actually conceived a certain affection in consequence of Naber's unkindness.

τοῖς ἡσσοσιν γὰρ πᾶς τις εὐνοίας φέρει.

But all editorial predilection apart, it is surprising how little has been done for or with Dion, and I never return to him without wondering that in the dearth of subjects for dissertations, so few have looked into the mass of interesting problems in art, literature, philosophy and morals suggested by his discourses. If the average Grecian knows the pretty 'Dorfgeschichte' (Εὐβοϊκός), to which Otto Jahn called especial attention, the Φιλοκτήτης, which forces itself on the students of Sophokles, and the Ὀλυμπικός ἢ περὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐννοίας, made conspicuous by Geel's special edition—it is as much. Something has been done of late for Dion's style by Schmid in the first volume of his Atticismus, but no systematic attempt has been made to disentangle from the rhetorical web the threads of literary tradition and historical fact. Doubtless the work will yet be done, and whoever comes to it will have a much surer foundation than heretofore in von Arnim's text, which is based on Emperius' edition, but supported by a better knowledge of the contents of the leading MSS and of their affinities.

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The invaluable critical edition of *Aischylos* by WECKLEIN (A. J. P. V 543) has received in the current year two *Auctaria* (Berlin, Calvary). The *Auctarium* to the First Part contains the *Fragments*, the *Auctarium* to the Second Part the *Appendix propagata*. This *Appendix propagata*, with true Teutonic indifference to the feelings of people who cannot use books unless they are bound, begins at p. 289, swallows up all the matter published in pp. 289-315 of the Second Part, and undertakes to record in addition all the conjectures given to the world from 1885, the date of the Second Part, down to Verrall's *Choëphori* (1893). Such an apparatus is a great boon to the student of *Aischylos*. Let us hope that it will not turn too many students into 'critical' editors.

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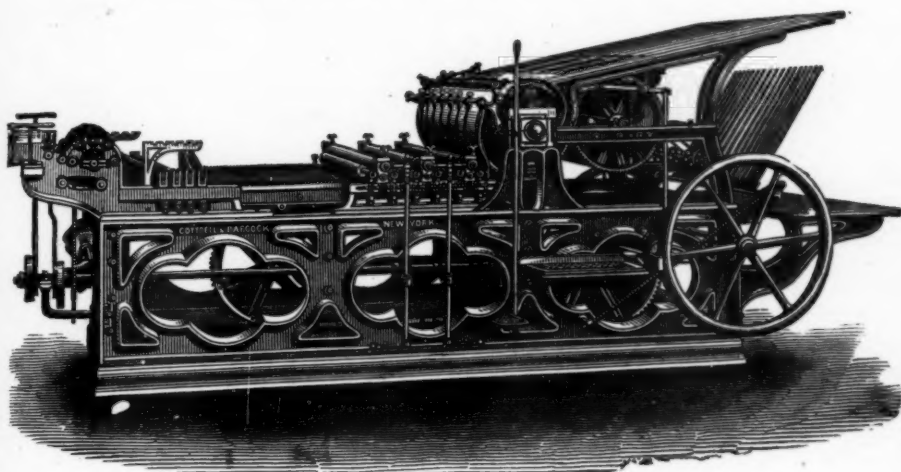
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